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INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

1899-1905.

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PART I.

GENERAL SUBJECTS.

INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY.

1899—1905.

I.—REORGANIZATION OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT IN INDIA.

1. *Letter from Viceroy to Lord Reay, dated 8th February 1900.*

I propose, if I can arrange it, to appoint a thoroughly trained expert to supervise archæological operations throughout India, visiting and advising the local officers and surveyors ; and to supplement the grants made by Local Governments in cases of extreme urgency or importance, by donations from Imperial Funds.

2. *Note by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 23rd September 1900.*

I have purposely kept back these papers for sometime, until I could feel convinced, by personal study and examination, of the best method of more effectively discharging our Imperial responsibility in respect of Ancient Monuments in India. I deliberately say Imperial responsibility, since I cannot conceive any obligation more strictly appertaining to a Supreme Government than the conservation of the most beautiful and perfect collection of monuments in the world, or one more likely to be scamped and ignored by a delegation of all authority to provincial administrations.

The way in which the Government of India, sometimes in obedience to, sometimes in collusion with, the Secretary of State, has hitherto discharged, or rather failed to discharge, this responsibility, is, in my judgment, both sad and discreditable.

First in 1871 we appointed a Director General of the Archæological Survey, whose work was to be directly limited to research, record, and description. Conservation was not considered to be a part of his duties.

When Lord Lytton, in 1878, first suggested a Curator of Ancient Monuments for the latter purpose, the idea was scouted as superfluous by the Secretary of State.

A little later, more generous counsels prevailed, and a Curator was appointed in 1880 experimentally for a period of three years.

2 REORGANIZATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT IN INDIA.

He was a very energetic and capable man. But he quarrelled both with the Government of India and with the Local Governments, and when his term was up, no fresh appointment was made.

A few years later an attempt was made to combine the functions both of research and conservation in a single individual ; but since Dr. Burgess' retirement in 1889, there has been no head of either department, neither Curator of Ancient Monuments, nor Director General of Archæological Survey.

Thus having originally started with the contention that one chief was sufficient, and having next found that two were necessary, we have ended by having none at all.

Archæology accordingly in India now rests upon the frail and impossible basis of the Provincial system. This means that though the Imperial Government pays the cost of the entire establishment—which according to the estimate last sanctioned by the Secretary of State, amounts only to the paltry sum of Rs. 88,450 per annum—any expenditure whatever that is incurred upon exploration, upkeep, record, or repair, is entirely dependent upon the volition of the Local Governments, who may, as they please, spend much, little, or nothing at all.

It is impossible to conceive a system more chaotic or futile in practice. I have made it my object to examine its operation for the last year and a half in every Province in India. The whole country is supposed to be divided into five circles with an Archæological Surveyor for each. The geographical arrangement of these circles is fantastic in the extreme. Sind is lumped together with Bombay and Berar. Baluchistan is tacked on to the Punjab ; and Ajmer is casually thrown in. The Central Provinces are added to the North-Western Provinces, which require the uninterrupted services of the best available man. In practice it is found that, till a week ago, the Punjab had never succeeded in appointing a Surveyor at all, and has only now, *faute de mieux*, succeeded in persuading a young German philologist, who is willing to put up with a small salary, to accept the charge of its incomparable monuments. Bengal, so far as I know, has no Surveyor. The Surveyors in the remaining circles, instead of being scholars, or even engineers, are merely as their name implies—Surveyors, who make drawings, and write reports, but can only at considerable risk be entrusted with the task of renovation or repair.

In practice, too, the most whimsical difference prevails between the policy adopted in different provinces. No Local Government is *per se* interested in archæology. It is occupied with grosser and more material concerns. The result is that the progress or suspension of archæological work, the decay of priceless treasures of art, the restoration, sometimes involving the prostitution, of exquisite palaces and halls—all depend upon the taste or interest or caprice of the local Governor, who, if in a few rare cases he exerts himself in the cause of art and good taste, may on the other hand if he chooses, leave an indelible and fatal mark upon

the monuments of his province, or, more frequently, be content with leaving no mark at all.

Thus it has come about that, owing to the absence of any central and duly qualified advising authority, not merely are beautiful and famous buildings crumbling to decay, but there is neither principle nor unity in conservation or repair, while from time to time horrors are still committed that make the student shudder and turn grey.

A Local Government, moreover, can always plead its poverty, or the pressure of other claims, as an excuse for doing nothing ; and, as a matter of fact in the majority of places (the North-Western Provinces under Sir A. MacDonnell are a notable exception), nothing whatever is done.

The continuance of this state of affairs seems to me little short of a scandal. Were Germany the ruling power in India, I do not hesitate to say that she would be spending many lakhs a year on a task to what we have hitherto rather plumed ourselves on our generosity in devoting Rs. 61,000, raised only a little more than a year ago to Rs. 88,000. Somewhere, indeed, in the notes I have come across the astounding remark that if India assigned not more than Rs. 50,000 a year to the duty, she would still be doing the thing very handsomely.

When I reflect upon the sums of money that are gaily dispensed for the construction of impossible forts in impossible places, which are to sustain an impossible siege against an impossible foe, I do venture to hope that so mean a standard may not again be pleaded, at any rate in my time.

It remains to be considered what we should do. I am in agreement with the majority of Mr. Holderness' excellent and, as I think, most reasonable proposals. I hold—

- (1) That we ought to re-appoint a Curator of Monuments or Director General of Archaeology in India. I rather prefer the latter title : because the former would seem to limit his obligatory duties to curation, whereas he ought, in my opinion, to exercise a general supervision over all archaeological work in the country, whether it be that of excavation, or preservation, or repair, or epigraphy, or registration, or description. I think that we should pay him a handsome salary and appoint him, say, for a period of five years. He should be a scholar, and a student ; and if possible a trained explorer, with some engineering knowledge, into the bargain. If we could not find him in England, we might have to go to the Continent.
- (2) That the Local Governments should be called upon to set aside a minimum annual sum, to be fixed in some ratio to their resources and to the character and number of their archaeological treasures, for the work of the circle in question.

4 REORGANIZATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT IN INDIA.

- (3) That a fixed annual grant of say one lakh of rupees should be placed at the disposal of the Director General to be assigned as a grant-in-aid, upon application to and with the sanction in each case of the Imperial Government, to any particular object or task demanding early or immediate execution, and proved to be beyond the financial capacity of the Local Government.
- (4) That he should visit all the circles in succession, and the more important ones, so far as possible, in each year; that he should co-ordinate and bring up to date the local surveys and reports, and should, if necessary, present an annual report to Government upon his own work.

I think that in time a re-arrangement of the circles would be found to be necessary. But, to begin with, I would not ask for too much; and I should be content if we could get what I have pleaded for.

I shall be glad of the opinion of Public Works Department and Finance Department on these proposals.

3. Despatch to Secretary of State, (Revenue No. 62) dated 20th December 1900.

The question of providing in a more satisfactory manner than is the case at present for the conservation of ancient remains of archaeological or historical interest has occupied our attention for some time past. We have come to the conclusion that this object can only be attained by the exercise of a larger measure of control on the part of the Supreme Government than has for some years been the case; and that for this purpose it will be necessary to appoint a highly qualified officer for a term of years to advise us as to the state of these monuments of antiquity, and as to the measures to be adopted for their conservation, and generally to direct and control the working of the Archaeological Department in all its branches. We accordingly seek Your Lordship's sanction to the creation for this purpose of an office under the title of Director General of Archaeology, for a period of five years.

2. In Your Lordship's Despatch No. 114 (Revenue), dated 18th May 1899, sanction was given to our proposals regarding the organization of the Archaeological Department for the next five years at an annual cost of Rs. 88,450. Our scheme provided for the entertainment of six Archaeological Surveyors, and for the division of India into six circles, while the duties of the Surveyors were defined to be—

- (1) to compile a classified list of archaeological remains in each province,

- (2) to advise and assist Local Governments concerning the conservation of these remains, and
- (3) to prosecute archaeological research.

The scheme contemplated that all initiative and responsibility in the matter of conservation should rest with the Provincial Governments, and made no provision either for enabling the Government of India to inform themselves as to how this responsibility was discharged, or for the intelligent guidance of the draftsmen or surveyors who composed the Department.

3. Further experience of the arrangements thus constituted and closer enquiry into the actual condition of ancient buildings in the several provinces and into the measures taken or not taken to conserve them, has led us to reconsider the position. In the first place it seems to us indefensible that the Supreme Government should divest itself of all responsibility for the preservation of monu-

Draft Resolution accompanying Government of India's Despatch No. 118, dated 18th March 1878.

ments which, in the words of Lord Lytton's Government, are "for variety, extent, completeness and beauty unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled, in the world."

The Govern-

ment of India, and not the Provincial Governments, will always be held in the judgment of the civilized world primarily responsible for maintaining intact this great inheritance; and we are in complete agreement with Lord Lytton in holding it unsafe to trust that the subordinate Governments will be always alive to the importance of such a duty, or will be always willing or able under the pressing exigencies of provincial finance to devote funds to it. In the second place we are satisfied that the Archaeological Surveyors who are entertained under the scheme are insufficiently equipped with archaeological, scholarly, or professional knowledge to act as independent advisers or investigators. The scale of salaries fixed for them will secure a competent draftsman or surveyor, or may occasionally attract a German professor with some philological attainments but without special training, but will not give us an engineer, or an architect, or a skilled and scholarly archaeologist. The surveyors, therefore, require to be guided and controlled, as otherwise the advice which they may tender to Local Governments is not unlikely, and not unseldom has been found, to be positively bad.

4. In 1880 the Marquess of Hartington sanctioned the appointment for a term of three years of a Curator of Ancient Monuments under the Government of India,

Despatch No. 43 (Public Works), dated 11th November 1880.
whose duty was defined to be "to give the Government of India and the Local Governments the advantage of professional advice concerning the restoration and conservation of ancient monuments throughout India," the Local Governments being left to provide a permanent system of inspection and preservation. Much excellent work was done by Captain Cole, R.E., during the three years during which he held the appointment, and we are inclined to regret that the term for which it was sanctioned was not extended. But when Captain Cole's services

were dispensed with, the Archaeological Department had a competent head in the person of Major-General Cunningham, its Director General, and this remained the case until his successor, Dr. Burgess, retired in 1889, and retrenchments in pursuance of the recommendations of the Finance Committee were made in the Archaeological, as in other Departments. The present position thus is that although the Archaeological Surveyors are appointed and paid by the Imperial Government, they are without a chief, and are practically without supervision in their relations with the several Provincial Governments.

5. In proposing to revive the appointment which Captain Cole filled and to re-assert the ultimate responsibility of the Government of India for the preservation of the ancient historical buildings of the country, we do not desire to upset existing arrangements under which Local Governments are primarily responsible for the execution of the necessary works of conservation through the agency of the Public Works Department. Whether expenditure on this object continues to be provincialised, or is made an Imperial charge at the next revision of the provincial contracts, is a matter of detail which we propose to reserve for further consideration. In either case the actual execution of the work will rest with the Public Works Department in each province, and the Local Government will be responsible that it is properly carried out. So long as such expenditure continues to be provincialised, we contemplate making a provision for an annual sum in the Imperial estimates, to be employed in grants-in-aid to Provincial Governments for archaeological work of special importance and magnitude. Our examination of the present condition of many of the finest historical buildings in India has convinced us that at least 1 lakh of rupees a year might with the greatest advantage, at any rate for a term of years, be thus employed. We could supply Your Lordship with a multitude of cases in which beautiful or famous fabrics are crumbling away to ruin, partly from the lack of authoritative supervision or control, still more from the reluctance or inability of the Local Government to assume a burden which is entirely optional and may be repudiated with equanimity. Exquisite mosques, deserted palaces, and venerated tombs, which have in many cases been converted to civil purposes, are not restored to their original use, for want of small sums of money, which the Local Governments profess their inability to supply. A process of restoration commenced under one régime is suspended or abandoned under its successor. Buildings, which it is still possible to save, are fast slipping into irreparable decay. In one province comparatively large sums will be devoted to conservation or renovation; in another, nothing will be spent at all. Even where money is expended the work, which is in the hands of the local engineers, who are often destitute of artistic knowledge, is sometimes attended with horrifying results from the simple absence of a superior authority qualified to advise and to control. In fact, we must confess that there is at present a total lack both of responsibility and of system. This is a state of affairs to which we think it incumbent upon Government to put an end. Learned scholars, particularly from the European Continent, seldom come to this country without publishing

sharp attacks upon the Government of India for its presumed apathy and indifference. Even the native press has begun to take a keen interest in the monuments of Indian antiquity and calls loudly for a more consistent and a more liberal policy. We believe that there is no object upon which the annual expenditure of such a small sum as we propose—and it is a very small sum—will be more unanimously endorsed by public opinion in this country. Our proposals provide, accordingly, for greater system both in supervision and outlay. The Director General whom we propose to appoint will visit the various provinces and advise the local surveyors as to the work which ought to be undertaken, and as to the manner of its execution; his action will thereby give us the guarantee, which would otherwise be wanting, that the money which we are prepared to allot will be expended in a proper manner on the preservation of the really important monuments of antiquity.

6. As we are unable to designate any officer at present in our service with special qualifications for the post which we wish to create, we would ask Your Lordship, if the appointment be sanctioned, to endeavour to select for us a thoroughly competent archæologist. The question of salary we would prefer to leave to Your Lordship's decision, but we would observe that, in view of the delicacy and importance of the duties to be entrusted to him, we consider that a salary sufficient to secure the services of a scholar and a student, and, if possible, a trained explorer with some engineering knowledge, should be offered. Professional engineering skill is at our command, and the person we seek for should have the taste and intelligence of a highly educated archæologist who could be trusted to select the structures most worthy of conservation, and to indicate the lines on which it should proceed: It would be desirable that he should possess some familiarity with oriental architecture and art; since his sphere of action would be one in which experimentalising would be dangerous, and might be disastrous. He would exercise a general supervision over all the archæological work of the country, whether it be that of excavation, of preservation or repair, of epigraphy, or of the registration and description of monuments and ancient remains; he would co-ordinate and bring up to date local surveys and reports; and he should, if necessary, present an annual report to us of his own work.

7. We enclose a copy of a speech which was made upon this subject by His Excellency the Viceroy at the meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta in the early part of the year, and in which the view that we take of the responsibilities of the Imperial Government was foreshadowed and laid down; and we trust that our proposals for carrying out the pledge that was then given may receive Your Lordship's approval.

Enclosure of No. 3.

See No. 3 under "VII—Speeches of Viceroy."

4. *Letter from Viceroy, to the Right Hon'ble Lord George Hamilton, M.P., Secretar of State for India, dated 20th December 1900.*

In any case do let me entreat you to save from their (*i.e.*, the Council's, devastating and pernicious activity the proposals which we are sending home to you this week for appointing a Director or Inspector General of Archaeology, and for spending a little more money for a few years on the conservation of ancient buildings. A few years ago there were two such officers—a Curator of Ancient Monuments, and a Director General of Archaeology. Now there is neither. There is no supervision, no control. One province, like the North-Western Provinces, spends a lot upon restoration and repairs. Another, like the Punjab, spends nothing. Beautiful remains are tumbling into irretrievable ruin, all for the want of a directing hand, and a few thousand rupces. The Archaeological Surveyors whom you sanctioned in Elgin's time are so humbly paid that we can only get inferior men. From time to time they perpetrate atrocious horrors, partly from ignorance, still more because there is no one to guide them. I can do a great deal in my five years, if only you will allow me. As it is, sooner than wait or have a squabble, I am doing a good many things myself. I am going, as you know, to re-erect Holwell's Monument in Calcutta. I cannot get it decently made in India, so I have to go all the way to France. It will cost me the best part of £1,000, transport alone being over £400. The Native Press is unanimous about the conservation of ancient buildings, and, if we spent 5 lakhs a year upon it, you would not have a protest.

5. *Telegram from Viceroy, to Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 26th May 1901.*

In sanctioning the appointment of Director General of Archaeology for five years, the Secretary of State mentions Mr. Vincent Smith as a suitable man for the post. Can you favour me with your confidential opinion as to his qualifications? My impression is that he is deficient both in expert and artistic knowledge and in energy.

6. *Telegram from Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 27th May 1901.*

With reference to Your Excellency's cipher telegram of yesterday, I am at a disadvantage in not having been favoured with Your Excellency's views on the resuscitation of the appointment of Director General of Archæology, but I assume Your Excellency desires to control and co-ordinate provincial operations connected with, firstly, Monumental Archæology, and, secondly, Epigraphy. On neither subject is Mr. Vincent Smith an expert. Indeed I believe he knows nothing of architecture. He is merely an amateur in antiquarian researches connected with Indian history and religious growth. As Director General of Archæology, I fear he would be found wanting.

7. *Despatch from Secretary of State, (Revenue No. 184) dated 29th November 1901.*

I have considered in Council your letter No. 62 (Revenue), dated 20th December 1900, making proposals for the appointment for a period of five years of a Director of Archæology.

2. In that letter it is stated that the present organisation of the Archæological Department is defective in that, while providing a staff of Archæological Surveyors whose services are placed at the disposal of Local Governments, it makes no provision for their control and guidance by a competent central authority, nor gives to Your Excellency's Government any means of informing itself as to what measures are being taken for the proper preservation of ancient buildings, or as to whether the Local Governments are sufficiently alive to the duties which, under the present constitution of the Archæological Department, devolve in this respect upon them. You consider that the ultimate responsibility for the preservation of the great historical monuments of India necessarily rests with the Government of India, and urge that you should be placed in a position to effectively discharge this responsibility. You propose that the Director should exercise general supervision over all the archæological work of the country, including research as well as conservation; that he should co-ordinate and bring up to date local surveys and reports; and that he should, if so required, submit an annual report on his own work. You further propose to make provision in the Imperial estimates, to the extent of at least one lakh of rupees a year, for grants-in-aid to Provincial Governments for archæological work of special importance and magnitude.

3. I am in complete sympathy with Your Excellency's desire that the great historical buildings of India should be preserved, so far as may be practicable,

from decay, and as Your Excellency's Government is of opinion that there is no security that this will be done unless a special officer be appointed for a term of years to take stock of the position, and to advise the responsible authorities and guide the provincial surveyors, I have decided to sanction the appointment of a Director of Archaeology for a term of five years, and to approve your proposal to provide in the estimates an annual sum not exceeding one lakh, from which grants-in-aid of archaeological work may be made to Local Governments. I desire, however, to express my concurrence in the view set out in the Marquess of Hartington's Despatch No. 43 (Public Works), dated the 11th November 1880, that no efficient and permanent system for the preservation of ancient monuments is possible unless it be taken up by the several Local Governments, and I trust that this principle will be observed in any arrangements which may be made during the continuance of the office of Director. It should, I conceive, be the primary aim of the Director to establish harmonious relations with the Provincial Governments and to work through them.

4. I regret to learn that cases have come within Your Excellency's observation "in which beautiful or famous fabrics are crumbling in ruin," or are diverted from their original purpose to civil uses. I find that in the past considerable sums have been expended by Local Governments from provincial resources on the maintenance of the more celebrated monuments of antiquity in their respective territories. In view of this evidence of practical sympathy and also of the wide interest which the monuments of India excite, I imagine that in many of the cases to which Your Excellency refers the damage must be of old standing and the decay far advanced, rendering conservation a difficult and costly affair. I think Your Government will agree with me that it would be improper to expend large sums of money in the attempt to conserve buildings which are in an advanced stage of ruin, and which are not of more than local importance. With regard to mosques and temples and other similar edifices that have been diverted from their original purpose to civil uses, I am under the impression that such misappropriation of this kind as still exists in British India originated in many instances under Native rule, and is consequently of ancient date. I think that questions of expediency as to the restoration of such buildings to their original uses may reasonably arise when the desecration occurred under Native rule has been acquiesced in for a number of generations, and cannot be remedied without considerable expenditure or public inconvenience. I make these remarks not as a criticism on the views held by Your Excellency's Government, but because I consider that there are limits, financial and administrative, to the work of conservation which it is proposed to entrust to the Director of Archaeology, and also because it is possible that some of the instances of apparent neglect which you ascribe to the remissness of the Local Governments may be due to the existence of such limits.

5. For the post of Director I have, after communicating with the authorities of the British Museum, selected Mr. J. H. Marshall, late of King's College,

Cambridge, and I have appointed him for a term of five years on a salary of Rs. 1,600 a month. Mr. Marshall's special qualifications for the office are described

* Not printed.

in the papers * herewith forwarded. I shall be glad to receive periodical reports showing the results of the appointment.

8. *Letter from Sir Arthur Godley, K.C.B., Under Secretary of State for India, dated 31st December 1901.*

I am vexed to find that I did not, apparently, write privately to tell you the result of my search for an Archaeologist. I certainly intended to do so, and cannot imagine how I omitted it, for the matter occupied a good deal of my time during the first few days after I came back from my holiday, and my natural inclination would have been, as soon as the thing was settled, to let you know it : the more so as I was much pleased with the selection which we were able to make. The credit of it is due mainly to Maunde Thompson of the British Museum, who was good enough to hunt up a candidate for us. The man whom he recommended, Mr. Marshall, is a distinguished Cambridge scholar, and has been working at Archaeology for some years in Greece and Crete. He is an enthusiast in his subject, and I feel confident that you will have a very good bargain in him : he made an excellent impression on those of us who interviewed him. There was a dispute about a petty question whether he should or should not have " Compensation Allowance." I was very anxious that he should not be specially and exceptionally debarred from this privilege, to which he was *prima facie* entitled ; and the matter was finally decided as I hoped it would be : but the result was that the Despatch announcing his appointment did not go out till November 29th. No doubt it has reached you by this time. I can't help thinking that the delay in getting the terms of the appointment finally approved may have caused me, first, to postpone mentioning it in my letters to you, and then, as time went on, to forget to mention it.

9. *Government of India (Revenue and Agricultural Department) Resolution, dated 11th February 1902.*

The conservation of the ancient buildings which provide so splendid a record of Indian history and so interesting an illustration of the artistic and religious feelings

of the past is a task that should appeal powerfully to the sympathy of the Government of this country, and that must be regarded as a responsibility for the due discharge of which it will properly be held to account. For some time past the attention of the Governor General in Council has been directed to the question of securing the recognition of a liberal policy in this matter, and of increasing the efficiency of the organization which exists for carrying it into effect. Under a scheme which was introduced in 1898 the provinces of British India were grouped into five circles to each of which an Archaeological Surveyor was appointed, to be paid from the Imperial revenues but to be controlled by the Local Government within whose jurisdiction his head-quarters were situated. He was charged with the duties of cataloguing archaeological remains, of advising the Local Government concerning the preservation of such of these remains as merited care, and, generally, with the prosecution of archaeological research. Responsibility for the effective conservation of such monuments as it was decided to maintain was left with Local Governments, which were to employ the agency of the Provincial Public Works Departments in carrying out necessary measures of construction and repair. This responsibility has led in some provinces to a liberal and well-judged expenditure, and the Governor General in Council recognizes that the local interest and pride in the public monuments of a province which are thereby developed should furnish the most effective security against their neglect. But the organization has been shown to be imperfect in so far as it has left the Archaeological Department without an expert head, who could assist local effort with authoritative advice and guidance, and maintain a continuous record of the archaeological needs of the various provinces and of the action taken to meet them. In the absence of such a central authority the attention that is given to the conservation of the ancient monuments of the country, and to archaeological questions in general, must depend partly upon the attractiveness which these subjects may possess for particular Heads of Local Governments and Administrations, partly upon the sufficiency of available funds. With a view to introducing greater uniformity as well as greater liberality of treatment, the Governor General in Council has determined, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to appoint tentatively, for a term of five years, a Director General of Archaeology; and Mr. J. H. Marshall has been selected for the post. In name, the appointment will be a revival of that held by Major-General Cunningham and Dr. Burgess between the years 1871 and 1889. But the duties of the incumbent will extend considerably beyond the direction and control of archaeological research to which these officers mainly directed their attention. It will be the most important of his functions to secure that the ancient monuments of the country are properly cared for, that they are not utilized for purposes which are inappropriate or unseemly, that repairs are executed when required, and that any restorations which may be attempted are conducted on artistic lines. In this respect his position will be generally similar to that occupied by the Curator of Ancient Monuments who held office from 1880 to 1883. But his duties will extend to the exercise of a general supervision over all the archaeo-

logical work of the country, whether it be that of excavation, or preservation, or repair, or of the registration and description of monuments and ancient remains, or of antiquarian research ; he will assist the Provincial Surveyors in ascertaining and formulating the special requirements of each province ; and he will advise the Government of India as to the operations for which special subsidies may be allotted from Imperial funds. He should visit all the circles in succession, and the more important ones, so far as is possible, in each year, succinctly reporting the general results of his tour to the Local Government of each province visited and offering any suggestion that he may have to make in connection with the buildings which he has inspected. He should co-ordinate and bring up to date the local surveys and reports ; and he will be expected to submit annually to the Government of India a brief report on the progress effected during each official year.

2. The Governor General in Council desires to make it known that the creation of this appointment is in no way intended to weaken the responsibility of Local Governments for the care of the ancient monuments of their provinces. Their duty in this respect will remain unimpaired ; but it is hoped that a stimulus may be lent to its continuous and effective discharge by the offer of expert advice and, where required, of practical assistance. The present arrangements under which repairs and restorations are carried out by the Provincial Departments of Public Works will remain unaltered : and the Government of India are indeed of opinion that in the interests of continuity of administration it is desirable that each Local Government should fix an annual minimum sum to be expended on these purposes. The Governor General in Council is prepared to emphasize his own responsibility in the matter and to facilitate the prompt undertaking of necessary works by reserving annually a sum of one lakh of rupees to be distributed for particular objects demanding early execution and shown to be beyond the financial capacity of Local Governments. It is further in contemplation to take powers by legislation for the more efficacious protection and repair of ancient buildings, in which case these subsidies will prove of special assistance to those Administrations whose archæological responsibilities will thereby be enhanced.

II.—ANCIENT MONUMENTS PRESERVATION BILL.

Notes by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file and Order in Council.

I do not feel at all certain that the generally pessimistic and non-possumus line adopted in these notes is the right one, or that the proposal to amend or to supplement the existing law (Treasure Trove Act) should be so lightly dismissed, because the information asked for from European countries turns out to be beside the point.

Mr. Ibbetson, who originated the proposal, is now again with us; and I should like him to see the papers and to give us the benefit of his advice in the matter.

The sort of powers which it seems to me that Government ought to possess in British territory and some of which, under different statutes, it doubtless enjoys are—

- (1) The possession of all ancient monuments, ruins, etc., except in so far as they are already the property of religious or other corporations, trusts, or societies, or of individuals.
- (2) The right to inspect, advise, and direct in respect of the conservation of those monuments which belong to others.
- (3) The right to punish any defacement, mutilation, spoliation or destruction of monuments in class (1) and ? in class (2).
- (4) The prior claim to all discoveries of archaeological or historical importance, subject to due compensation to owner or finder.
- (5) The (possible) right of pre-emption in the case of objects which have not been reported upon discovery and have passed into private hands;
- (6) The right to prohibit sale or export of such objects, except with consent of Government, or after Government has declined to exercise its right of pre-emption. Mr. Rivaz in his note of 13th April 1899 says that this would be inquisitorial and imprudent. But I may point out that it is exactly what is done in Italy without friction and with success. If I go into an antiquarian's shop at Venice and buy a number of so-called Old Masters, or bronzes, or stained glass, or *objets d'art*, or marbles, he has to send a list of my proposed purchases to the local authorities, and to procure their permission

before any one of my purchases can be exported from the country. Without this permit, his packing case will not be passed by the Customs officials.

I really do not see why what works well in Italy should necessarily break down here. Suggestions have been made as to consulting Local Governments and as to procuring further information from Europe on these points. Perhaps Mr. Ibbetson will advise on this.

As regards Native States, the notes of Foreign Department contain a number of suggestions upon which I should also be grateful for his opinion. I must confess that I am not satisfied with the state of the law on the subject—any more than I am with the practice, recorded in some of these notes, of allowing foreigners to come in and dig in British protected territory at Nepal, on condition of a division of the *trouvaille*. We ought to have it all—a condition which is enforced in Greece, and even in so retrograde, corrupt, and inartistic a country as Turkey.

29-1-00.

I think that the case ought certainly at the present stage to be circulated for the opinions of Hon'ble Members, because it does not seem to me possible that the Bill should be sent out to Local Governments in the present inchoate and ambiguous form.

The Bill is really an attempt to effect two entirely different objects, *viz.*—(1) to provide for the preservation and acquisition of monuments, *i.e.*, temples, mosques, tombs, pillars, topes, etc., etc.; (2) to prevent objects which are vaguely described as being of 'historical or artistic interest' from being taken out of the country. It will do the former pretty well. In my judgment it will not, as at present drafted, do the latter at all: while it will do a good deal else that cannot be contemplated without dismay. I have, however, a few remarks to make about the first section of the Bill (clauses 1—9). Clause 7 (2) limits the powers of compulsory purchase in the case of (b) any place actually used as a dwelling-house. This would mean that if any deserted tomb or mosque which the Government desired to buy, had been appropriated by a squatter, and turned into a dwelling-house (as I have actually seen done), the Government could not acquire it. That would never do. Sub-section (c) extends the reservation to "any tomb in the possession of any descendant of a person interred therein or commemorated thereby." But that is exactly what these squatters always claim to be, and perhaps in some cases really are. It is impossible to test the validity of a chain that has so many links. I have seen tombs of which the custodian claimed to be a lineal descendant of the person originally buried there. I dare-say he was nothing of the sort. But it could not be disproved. Under this Bill, he could set up a claim to ownership, which the Government could not dispute.

Clause 9 fixes what seems to me to be too narrow a maximum to the fine. Take the case of the German vandal who carried off the carvings from the Burmese pagoda which he had been allowed to visit under the auspices of our Government

and with letters of recommendation from his own. Now there might be difficulty in imprisoning the subject of a foreign Power. Is he therefore to be let off with a fine of Rs. 100 ? The penalty seems to me to be quite disproportionate.

I now come to section 2 of the Bill. It appears to me that its framers have not paused to consider what are the objects which they desire to protect and to keep in the country. They speak of "objects of historical or artistic interest" and they leave it to a subsequent notification to describe and specify what such objects in any individual case may be. Surely this is not business-like or practicable. I take it that there are, broadly speaking, two classes of objects of historical or artistic interest in India, the one of which it is desirable to keep in the country, and which ought without much difficulty to be kept ; the other of which it is scarcely possible (even if it be desirable) to keep, owing to the conditions under which they are bought or sold.

The first class is that of sculptured carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions and so on, which have a peculiar local connection, for the due preservation of which local museums are forthcoming in the provincial capitals, and the possession of which enriches the archæological or ethnological treasures which ought properly to remain in India. Of such a character are the Buddhist sculptures which were discovered in such numbers a few years ago in Swat and Yusufzai, and a large number of which were smuggled out of the country. We want a law to prevent the loss of such objects as these.

Then we come to the second category of articles, mostly portable and consequently difficult to arrest, which possess an artistic, perhaps even more than a historic, interest, and which it is extremely difficult to prevent a dealer from selling or a globe-trotter from buying. I allude to arms, enamels, miniatures, silver, brass and copper vessels, bronzes, coins and what are generically termed curios or antiques.

There is another sub-category of this class, which is even more worthy, but not less difficult, of protection. I allude to Persian and Arabic manuscripts, of which there are still some beautiful specimens to be picked up in this country, though the majority have been carried off. The whole of these objects are worthy of retention in India. But the difficulties of retaining them would be enormous. Who shall define what is old, what is historic, what is artistic ? How can we prevent Messrs. Tellery and Mowis from selling such-like curios ? Even if we placed them under a law, how should we ourselves draw the line between the vendible and the non-vendible ; and even if the law were to apply to recognized tradesmen, such as those named, how should we check or prohibit sale by the thousand and one itinerant and irregular vendors who abound in the East ?

My own impression therefore (though I am open to argument) is that it is well nigh impossible to prevent the abstraction from India of such objects as I have been describing.

But if that be so, had we not better make up our minds as to what are the historic and artistic objects that we do mean to keep in the country—so far as we can—instead of leaving the matter to a Notification to be issued some day or other, by the Governor General in Council ? Part I of the draft Bill relates to permanent, *i.e.*, fixed or stationary monuments. Could we not provide in Part II for non-permanent and portable antiques of the character that I have before alluded to (*viz.*, inscriptions, fragments of sculpture, small figures, groups and so on) ; and could we not lay down that no vendor shall part with such objects without sanction to the sale received from the District Officer or some other person ? If he sold the object without this signed permit, the sale would be cancelled, the object (unless it had already disappeared) would be confiscated to Government, and the offender would be imprisoned or fined.

This is the sort of law that, as I have remarked in an earlier note, prevails in Italy. If I wish to buy an old *cassone* (painted marriage-chest) in Venice, the dealer has to send a description of the article and its proposed price to the Municipality : and the sale is not lawful, nor can the case containing the chest be sent to and passed through the customs, until the certificate has been received and produced.

This prevents the withdrawal from the country of large objects. In the case of small objects the only successful obstacle to the evasion of the law would be the probability, in a country like India, that some informer would report to the police what was going on, and that severe notice would then be taken of the offender.

The advantage of this system is that the guilt, where established, is brought home without delay to the guilty party, whereas, as Mr. Rivaz has pointed out, if we merely pass a general prohibitory law or issue a prohibitory Notification, the prohibition will at once become a dead-letter, unless a customs inquisition is ordered in order to secure its observance.

Again, supposing the Bill to be passed as proposed, and the Government of India, in pursuance of it, to issue a Notification prohibiting, *e.g.*, the abstraction of illuminated Korans from the country, the travelling purchaser will of course plead complete ignorance of the Notification ; it will be absurd to fine him, and to leave the real law-breaker, who is the vendor, alone ; and finally not even the purchaser can be proceeded against until he has taken the object out of British India, *i.e.*, until he has left the country, when he will be out of our reach. Meanwhile supposing him to have bought the prohibited article, but not to have succeeded in getting it away, the Bill provides no means for its acquisition by the Government.

I do not of course know what may have been in the minds of the framers of clause 10 ; and perhaps the discussion which I invite will reveal it. But my remarks will at least show that it is open to serious objection, and that it is very undesirable that it should issue in its present form.

Finally, as regards clause 11, I must invite a similar explanation, since I confess to not having the slightest notion what it means. As it stands, it would justify a District Magistrate in walking into a private house, or we will say into the palace of an impoverished Raja, and claiming to buy on behalf of Government (on his own discretion solely—I shudder to think of a District Magistrate's artistic discretion) any object that appealed to his historic or artistic sense, provided only it was not a religious image or symbol, or an object which the owner desired to retain on personal or family grounds. After this astounding proceeding the next step would be to call in a first-class Magistrate to fix the price. I shudder to think of the first-class Magistrate's assessment almost as much as of the District Magistrate's taste. Is not this clause fantastic ?

30-8-00.

I have only a few observations to make at the present stage. The first must be an expression of thanks to Mr. Raleigh for the trouble that he has taken in preparing a new draft.

There is an apparent discrepancy between section 3 (2) (c) and section 8 (1). The former stipulates that in the agreement with the owner, it shall be provided that if the latter proposes to sell the land upon which the monument is situated, Government shall have the right of purchase. So much for the land. But what of the monument itself ? On the other hand, section 8 (1) seems to put the matter right by contemplating the purchase of the monument also, though even here the language is ambiguous, since, while the monument is described as being offered for sale, it is only the site of the monument that the Government is apparently expected to purchase. It would be rather absurd for us to buy, as we might think, a mosque ; and for the previous owner then to come and strip it of its tiles on the ground that we had bought not the monument but only the site.

Again section 3 (1) only provides that the District Magistrate " may propose an agreement " to the owner. But supposing the latter refuses, how are we to compel him ? Ought not the Bill to provide for that ?

In sections 10 and 11 I would suggest the words *object* and *objects* as preferable to *thing* and *things*.

I think that clause 12 will have to go altogether. I am doubtful whether we require power of compulsory purchase in respect of the objects mentioned in section 11. I am sure that we do not want them in respect of the objects mentioned in section 12.

As I understand, we could under section 10 (2) prohibit the removal from the country of any of the objects mentioned in section 12 (1). If then the owner desired to sell, and could not sell (under our Notification) to any one proposing to take the object out of the country, his market would be by so much restricted that if Government wished to purchase, he would probably be willing to treat with us in

that capacity. In these circumstances compulsory purchase would not be required. We will suppose for instance, that there is a valuable collection of illuminated Persian manuscripts at Lucknow which Government fears is likely to be dispersed, and accordingly desires to acquire. The first thing we do is to prohibit exportation by Notification under section 10 (2). The owner must then either sell in India—which I do not see that we have any right to prevent—or sell to us.

As section 12 (1) now stands, the Bengal Government might march into Darbhanga's house, and make a clean sweep of all his treasures (if he has any), provided only that it could establish that such action was "necessary with a view to their preservation."

I do not think that this would ever do, and as I have said I am not clear that powers of compulsory purchase are needed at all.

I would assimilate the fine in section 10 (3) (now Rs. 200) to the fine in section 11 (3), *viz.*, Rs. 500. Why the first offender should be let off so cheap, I have no idea. Nor do I see why "a Magistrate of the first or second class" should be required to convict him, while "a Magistrate" (of apparently no class) is provided for in the second case.

The case might now be circulated to Hon'ble Members and taken in Council.

11-8-01.

I still think that legislation is required, and I agree that the present Bill is an improvement upon our former draft. But I cannot agree that it is a short Bill. On the contrary, it seems to me to be a long—I should have thought an unnecessarily long—one.

I am very grateful to the Departments and to my two Hon'ble Colleagues for the great thought and attention that they have given to the whole matter. There are only a few questions that I wish to ask at the present stage. I see that the Commissioner is invested with certain powers and functions, and the Collector with others. Has this partition of spheres been clearly thought out, and will it be generally applicable? What will happen in Madras, where there are no Commissioners?

Is it necessary to make in clause 8 a special reference to a Regulation of one Local Government?

Clause 10 (1) retains the suggestion that a monument has a market value. To me the phrase in that connection appears not only meaningless, but fraught with possible mischief. How can an ancient monument have a *market* value, and if it has, what are the considerations that determine it?

Clause 11 (a).—Does this include or exclude Muhammadan tombs, which are not exactly "periodically used for religious worship," but which are certainly "periodically visited for religious objects"?

Clause 11, proviso 3, lays down that in compulsorily acquiring any monument, its archaeological or historical merits shall not be taken into account. I suppose that this is much the same idea as has been expressed in the phrase "*market value*" in clause 10 (1). If so, is it altogether fair? In an analogous case the monument of Stonehenge in England is about to be purchased by public money. If the owner were merely to receive the market value of the land and the value, market or otherwise, of the stones, he would not get much out of the transaction. But he will of course receive a very handsome price for the archaeological and historical value of the monument. I think, therefore, that some explanation is required of the opposite procedure here; for it seems to me that, under this clause, Government are about to take a power that would enable them to lay hold of the large majority of monuments in British India, at a price greatly below that which they ought to fetch. I quite see the difficulty of translating the archaeological or historical merits of a building into rupees, but I do not therefore at once see that the only alternative is to deny that they have any financial value at all. There are some other points that I should like to raise, but which I will reserve for the discussion in Council.

16-2-03.

Order in Council.

That in the third proviso of clause 11 of the Bill the word "*artistic*" be introduced between "*archaeological*" and "*historical*".

That a new proviso be added to the effect that before compulsory purchase the owner shall have had an opportunity of entering into an agreement under clause 5 of the Bill.

That the words "*or which the Government has acquired under section 10 or section 11*" be added at the end of clause 12 (1). That the word "*observances*" be substituted for the word "*worship*" in clause 11, proviso first (a).

That the Bill as amended be reported to the Secretary of State for approval.

6-3-03.

II.—[FUTURE OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.]

1. Despatch to Secretary of State, (Revenue No. 23) dated 26th May 1904.

In his Despatch No. 114 (Revenue), dated the 18th May 1899, Lord George Hamilton sanctioned our proposals for the re-organization of the Archæological Survey Department for a period of five years which will expire in June next. He requested that before the expiry of the period a full report should be furnished on the progress made in the survey and on the work remaining to be done by our Government, and we now have the honour to enclose a note drawn up by the Director General of Archæology, which supplies the information asked for. We desire at the same time to address you on the subject of the future employment of the survey staff which, in view of the approaching termination of the existing sanction, should now be considered.

2. As constituted in 1899 the survey comprised six Archæological Circles with a Superintendent and small office establishment for each. Since that date there have been several important changes. In 1901 a Director General of Archæology was, with the approval of Lord George Hamilton, conveyed in his Despatch No. 184 (Revenue), dated 29th November 1901, appointed to control and supervise operations and to act as adviser to the Supreme Government in archæological matters. In 1903 an Archæological Surveyor was appointed to the staff, whose

Despatch No. 57 (Revenue), dated 24th April 1903, from Secretary of State.

Despatch No. 148 (Revenue), dated 8th October 1903, from Secretary of State.

Despatch No. 81 (Public), dated 10th July 1903, from Secretary of State.

Baluchistan, was placed in charge of a new Archæological Circle comprising those provinces. A complete list of the existing superior appointments of the Archæological Department will be found enclosed (Schedule A), which gives the various dates on which the sanction for each of them expires. For the majority it comes to an end in the current year, but the appointment of Director General of Archæology does not terminate till 1907, while the engagement of the Archæological Surveyor recently recruited for the United Provinces and Punjab does not terminate till 1909. It would in any case be necessary to continue the survey staff till 1907,

particular duty is concerned with the restoration and conservation of the monuments of the United Provinces and Punjab; and

a slight re-arrangement of the Archæological Circles was made. In 1903 also, an Assistant Surveyor was sanctioned for the Bombay Circle; and earlier in the same year

Dr. M. A. Stein, Inspector General of Education, North-West Frontier Province and

when the period for which the present Director General has been engaged will expire. But we are strongly of opinion that the time has now arrived when the Department itself must be placed on a permanent footing.

3. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the work which has been done during the past five years, and which still remains to be done by the Department, as full information on this point is contained in Mr. Marshall's note. We would also

* *Vide Gazette of India*, Part VI, dated 2nd refer to the speech * of His Excellency Lord April 1904.

Curzon in the Legislative Council on the

occasion of the passing into law of the Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. Owing to neglect in the past, the task of restoration and repair which is now being energetically pursued will require close attention for many years to come. Nor, as the Director General of Archaeology points out, can it ever be regarded as completed if the ancient and historic structures of the country are to be maintained in the state of preservation which their beauty and importance demand. The work of archaeological exploration and research is also far from complete. Though much has been accomplished, the work has been in some places fragmentary or desultory. Many gaps wait to be filled up, and the systematic prosecution of fresh surveys will follow the completion of the census of antiquarian remains which is at present being carried out. In the excavation of buried sites a great field of exploration still remains practically untouched, from which invaluable light upon the early history of India and of the races which have inhabited it may be anticipated. For all this work a staff of trained archaeologists is essential. It is equally indispensable to the proper administration of the recently enacted law, which has conferred new powers and duties upon Government, connected with the acquisition and preservation of antiquities.

4. Lord George Hamilton, in his despatch to which we now reply, gave expression to the hope that some of our archaeological work might be devolved on learned societies and scholars. We desire, however, to point out that this policy, however applicable to the conditions of Europe, is not capable of practical application to India, where the responsibility resting on Government for the preservation of the national antiquities has been recognized. In our despatch applying for the creation of the appointment of Director General of Archaeology, we gave expression to this conviction, and in repeating it we may remark that few measures have received such unqualified approval from the native community as those which have been taken in recent years to restore and guard the relics of the past at the public expense. This task is one which no private body in India is competent to perform, and which must necessarily therefore rest with the Government. We have always been prepared to welcome the co-operation of private societies and archaeologists in the work of survey and exploration. In India itself, however, students who possess the necessary means and aptitude for antiquarian research are few; and the natives of the country (with a few notable exceptions) have not shown much desire to enter this field of study; though a certain number

have always been employed in the Government survey, and we hope that a larger number of men will in the future be found qualified for enlistment. We are indeed taking steps to train natives with this purpose in view. The papers received with Lord George Hamilton's Despatch No. 13 (Public), dated 31st March 1898, led us to expect a large measure of active co-operation from European savants, but no further communication has reached us concerning the proposed Indian exploration fund. We are forced, therefore, to repeat the conclusion at which we arrived in our Despatch No. 31, dated 16th June 1898, that the work must be continued by Government if it is to continue at all.

5. For these reasons we would ask your sanction to constitute the Archaeological Survey Department on a permanent footing as a necessary branch of the administration. We do not propose to disturb the terms of agreement (where such exist) with individual officers under which their services may be dispensed with after a specified period, although it is not improbable that some changes may be necessary in the existing scale of appointments owing to the resignation of Dr. Hultsch, the Epigraphist, and for other reasons. On this subject we shall, however, address you later after consulting Local Governments. Meanwhile we solicit your sanction to the temporary extension of the appointments which will expire in the current year. The present cost of the Archaeological Survey (apart from conservation) is Rs. 1,79,800 as shown in Schedule B. Considering the vast area of country and the great number and variety of monuments to be dealt with, this cannot be regarded as an extravagant outlay, especially in view of the fact that the necessity for the greater part of it has arisen from neglect of our duties in the past. To curtail or reduce the work now in progress would, in our opinion, be a grievous mistake; to suspend or end it would be universally regarded in India as an abnegation of public duty; and especially at the present moment, when Lord Curzon has, by his enthusiasm, his knowledge, and his personal devotion to the subject, lent impulse and inspiration to the work of restoration and conservation, with the result that it is now for the first time being conducted on a scale and in a manner commensurate with the importance of our Indian antiquities, and when, moreover, the law has for the first time invested us with power to interfere authoritatively for their preservation. We trust therefore that our proposal will receive your approval.

6. We may add that, although archaeological survey expenditure is for the most part Imperial, owing to considerations of economy which have led to more than one province being placed under an individual surveyor, the work both of conservation and of survey is carried out under the immediate orders of Local Governments, and under the existing arrangements provincial control and responsibility are fully maintained.

Enclosures of No. 1:

- (1) Note by J. H. Marshall, Esq., Director General of Archaeology, dated 18th April 1904, on the work of the Archaeological Survey Department in India.

CONSERVATION.

Speaking generally, there has been during the past five years a conspicuous and rapidly increasing interest shown by Local Governments in the monuments under their charge. Some administrations have, it is true, been more backward than others in responding to the appeals of the Imperial Government in this matter—a backwardness doubtless due for the most part to the pressing exigencies of local finance—but a comparison of the provincial allotments made to Archaeology during 1903-04 with those of 1898-99 will serve to show that the responsibility has now been uniformly accepted, and has at last led to the general adoption of a sufficiently liberal policy. The allotments from the various provinces are as follows :—

		1898-99.	1903-04.
		Rs.	Rs.
Madras	..	..	919
Bombay	..	..	18,542
Bengal	..	..	8,285
United Provinces	..	..	9,670
Punjab	..	..	11,530
Central Provinces	..	..	1,13,513
Burma	..	..	7,888
		..	40,000
		..	10,000
		..	86,000
		<hr/> TOTAL	<hr/> 3,30,429
		..	43,292

In addition to the above sums the Government of India have set aside a lakh of rupees yearly since 1902, from which subsidies have been given in aid of special archaeological objects shown to be beyond the financial capacity of the local administrations. The beneficial effect of the action of the Supreme Government in thus assuming direct responsibility has been most apparent in the stimulus it has imparted to local endeavour.

Almost the whole of the provincial grants and of the subsidies made since 1902 from Imperial sources have been devoted to conservation, comparatively insignificant sums only being reserved for exploration or other archaeological purposes. In the following general account of the works, which they have rendered possible, only those operations which may be considered of first-rate importance can here be noticed, and that too but very briefly. To detail them fully and exactly, or to refer to all the miscellaneous repairs carried out by the survey would be tedious in the extreme. Minor works, it is true, constitute the bulk of the last five years' work in more than one Province, but a description of these undertakings, however necessary they may have been to the preservation of the buildings, would entail a mere repetition of measures like the clearing away of over-growing jungle, the erasing of hideous whitewash, and the resetting of crumbling masonry, associated with long lists of monuments, of the archaeological value of which the mere names would convey little or no idea.

Undoubtedly the greatest achievement of the last five years has been the restoration of the Agra group of monuments—greatest not only by reason of the superlative importance of the monuments themselves which have been saved from impending ruin, but by reason also of the exceptional skill of the local masons which has enabled them to copy the original carvings with scrupulous fidelity, and thus restore to many of the monuments the full measure of their ancient symmetry. The Taj Mahal, in particular, with its gardens and surrounding buildings, can hardly have looked more effective in the days of the Mogul Emperors than it now does. Squalid bazaars have been cleared away from its very gates, the colonnades flanking its approach have been opened out and repaired, and the untidy quadrangle that precedes its main entrance has been converted into a well grassed and peaceful court. Within the precinct of the tomb itself the gardens with their watercourses, fountains and flower beds have been restored more exactly to their original condition, and the stately mosque and *jawab* have been structurally repaired and beautified by the renovation of their encrusted ornaments and sculptured panels.

In the Fort the complete restoration of the imposing river frontage of the Jahangiri Mahal has been effected, and the dilapidated brick-supported kiosk-standing on the south bastion flanking the great front has been rebuilt. The quaint Square Pavilion known as the Salimgarh which adorned the highest point of Agra Fort was until quite recently used as a canteen, and the better to adapt it to that ignoble purpose, the fine arches which open the pavilion on all four sides, had been bricked up and fitted with mistri-made doors and windows, while a barrack room verandah had been built up against the sun. To-day the canteen has been wiped out of sight and the pavilion has regained its former beauty. In the square surrounding the Diwan-i-Am or Hall of Public Audience which the visitor used to remember only as an arsenal yard littered with débris and a convenient stand for carriages, the military authorities have allowed the hideous modern casemates to be demolished and the ancient arcades which they screened from view to be restored in their entirety. The débris has been cleared away, and the old roads and pavement, where the assembled audience stood before the Emperor, brought to light and repaired. Other ancient buildings in Agra have received their full share of attention. The exquisite tomb of Itimad-ud-Daulah on the further bank of the Jumna is crowned again with its graceful balustrade of perforated marble, and much of its inlay of precious stones has been repaired; while hard by it the crumbling fabric of the Chini-ka-Roza, than which no finer specimen of tilework exists in the Province, has been skilfully saved from further decay. At Sikandra in the main gatehouse of the Mausoleum of Akbar the bold designs of coloured stone work have been renewed and another of the gates—which would inevitably have fallen in a few more years—has also passed into the repairer's hands. Equally systematic and equally successful have been the repairs to the numerous buildings in the city of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri.

In Rajputana, at the Jain temples on Mount Abu, whose lace-like traceries are the triumph of Indian marble carving, the difficulty of saving their domes from collapse without taking away from their beauty has been skilfully overcome and the marks of former rough usage or neglect have been removed.

On the side of the Ajmer lake the stately marble embankment of Shah Jahan has been carefully restored and the ugly modern offices and bungalows, which offended every sympathetic eye, have been made to yield place to the exquisite marble pavilions of the Mogul Emperor,—white and spotless as when first erected. At Ajmer also the Arhai-din-ka

Jhompra Mosque, which according to some is the finest specimen of the Muhammadan mosques that now exists, has been rescued from a sad state of dilapidation. The domes have been replaced, the tenements of squatters have been bought up and cleared, the cloister walls have been strengthened and many of the missing pillars have been restored.

Within the fortress of Chitor the well-known Tower of Fame has been saved from untimely destruction. For several years its crowning story had been in imminent danger of collapse, and the Durbar had started the work of pulling down the Tower to its foundations, with the idea of building it afresh and recarving any of the exquisite sculptures that might have been defaced or broken in the process. Happily they were diverted in time from their purpose, and the tower is now being repaired—for repair is all that is needed—with scrupulous care.

In another Native State—that of Dhar in Central India—the rock fortress of Mandu, overlooking the sacred Nerbudda, the ancient capital of the kings of Malwa, is still in the process of being rescued from the undeserved oblivion into which it had fallen. In the whole of India there is no capital of antiquity which occupies a nobler site and no group of monuments more impressive in their lonely grandeur or more romantic in their decay. It is strange indeed that no previous attempt was ever made to rescue them from the rank jungle which for centuries has been encroaching and tearing their masonry to pieces. The operations which have now been undertaken have already borne remarkable fruit not only in the successful preservation they have effected of some of the most beautiful of the buildings above ground, but in the discovery also of fresh monuments of first-rate importance—notably of the Victory Tower and tomb of the Great Mahmud—buried deep in their own accumulated débris.

No longer is the mosque of the slave nobleman Sidi Sayid at Ahmedabad perverted to mean utilitarian uses. The many deformities which were perpetrated in order to convert it into a modern district treasury and which, incredible though it may seem, were allowed to obscure the exquisite beauty of its demilune windows, have been removed, while the precincts have been dedicated to their original purpose. For many years debarred by the stringent rules observed in all treasury buildings from crossing the official threshold, the public once more enjoys free access to the interior, and Ahmedabad has regained an acquisition to its architectural attractions which alone would reward the visitor for his journey there.

From the finely proportioned mosque of the Gol Gumbaz at Bijapur the unsightly dâk bungalow has been summarily obliterated, and the building with its noble façade and slender graceful minars, has been rescued from rapid decline. At this tomb also the bold and highly ornate eaves that served by contrast to set off the grand simplicity of the building are being restored, and a like work is being done, in the same capital, at the Ibrahim Roza and the Jami Musjid.

In the Punjab a great effort has been and still is being made, to make up for the neglect of past years and to do for the monuments of Delhi and Lahore what has already been done for those of Agra. At Delhi a whole succession of buildings dating from an age before the Muhammadan conquest until the latest Mogul times—all of them among the finest representatives of their class—have come into the repairer's hands. The graceful Hindu colonnades incorporated by Altamsh into his stupendous mosque at the Qutub, and the famous façade which he himself added : the musjid within the old fort of Sher Shah with its richly coloured encrustations : the massive Mausoleum of the Emperor Tughlak Shah ; the gem-like tomb of Atgah

Khan, the foster father of Akbar, with its delicate reliefs and inlaid kashi tiles ; and the pretty grave of Jahanara, the devoted daughter of Shah Jahan—all these have been restored to their former beauty or put into a thorough state of repair and defence against their natural enemies. Around the tomb of Humayun a barren wilderness is being converted into a stately garden, that shall be worthy of the glorious resting-place of so great an Emperor. Hard by, the tomb of Isa Khan also has been rescued from the squalor of its surroundings by transplanting a whole village of dirty huts from its quaint octagonal enclosure, and this monument has already taken rank among the great attractions of Delhi.

Coming to the city and fortress of Shah Jahan, the military authorities have agreed to evacuate all the principal Mogul buildings that now exist within the Fort, and already the work of digging out the marble tanks and reservoirs long buried beneath the soil, and of restoring the famous Hayat Bakhsh Garden and its marble pavilions to some semblance of their former beauty has made good progress. Here also have been restored in the throne of the Great Mogul those mosaiced panels—among them the well-known picture of Orpheus fiddling to a group of listening animals—which were carried off to England at the time of the Mutiny.

Outside the fort, the Zinat-ul-Masajid, used within recent years as a bakery for the British troops, has been converted once more to a holier purpose.

So too at Lahore, the Moti Musjid in the Fort, built round with battering walls of British brick and made strong with iron bars when it was turned into a treasury, once more resembles its former self and displays to the light of day the full purity of its glistening marbles. The Chhoti Khwabgah, or sleeping hall of Shah Jahan, that was covered in with an ugly modern roof and appropriated as a church for the soldiers, has all but been restored to its original beauty. And the tile-enamelled mosque of Dai Anga has been freed from the mass of railway offices, in which it had been literally buried.

At Shahdara, the tomb of the Emperor Jahangir has received most careful attention, and hands have been at work arresting the decay in many of the surrounding buildings.

In Bengal a whole series of important projects have been taken up. Asoka's broken pillar near Rampurwa, the separate pieces of which lay buried in a swamp, has been raised from its grave and re-erected on the site where there is every reason to suppose that the great Buddhist monarch originally set it up. The weird Jain caves at Khandagiri, crumbling away under their burden of age, have been protected against the further ravages of heat and rain ; and the two stone elephants which lay broken in confused fragments close by, have been repieced and placed upon their feet again, flanking the front of the Ganesa Gumpha, where they once formed a guard of honour. On the summit of the deserted hill of Mundesvari the queer octagonal temple which lay half smothered in its own ruin—the whole heap overgrown to the roof with the rank vegetation of the jungle—has been brought back to the civilised light of day, and though the structure cannot now be restored to the form it bore twelve centuries ago, efforts are being made to preserve all the essential features. Similarly the numerous temples at Bhubaneswar, some of which are in their own way quite unique, have been rescued, not, it is true, from the same advanced stage of disintegration, but still from a condition of more than incipient decay. Portions of the building which by the loosening of stones had become unsafe have been dismantled and rebuilt as far as possible with the ancient material. The magnificent and costly temple of the Sun God, known as the Black Pagoda, strangely reared six hundred years ago on what is

now at any rate a desert of sea sand at Konarak, had sunk into a state sadly different from that which still delighted the world in the time of Abdul Fazl, who wrote of it that "even those whose judgment is critical and who are difficult to please stand amazed at the sight." Much has now been done to remedy the inroads of time and mischief. The plinth of the temple, which was buried in sand, has been laid open and is now seen to be full of startling carvings including representations of processional horses and chariot wheels—sure symbols of the glorious Sun God.

Among the Muhammadan buildings in Bengal—relics for the most part of the independent Sultans who had their capitals at Gaur and Pandua between the fourteenth and sixteenth century—there has been, and still is, much room for protective and restorative energy. It is the misfortune of these curious buildings, with their soft brick façades chiselled as elaborately as if of sandstone, that the glazed tiles which form their crowning ornament have excited general covetousness. Much of the spoliation was wrought by Hindus in the early days of the East India Company but happily those days are now passed, and in place of destruction we now have reconstruction and the sedulous preservation of all that has been spared. At Pandra the striking five-storied minar, evidently an imitation of the Qutub minar at Delhi, had lost its topmost storey and its pinnacle, but these have now been carefully restored. Finally, the famous hill fort of Rhotasgarh and the many curious buildings on the Rhotasgarh plateau, which constitute the only specimens of Mogul civil architecture in Bengal, have come into the scheme of conservation, mainly because of the interesting example they afford of the conditions of military life in those unrestful days.

Passing rapidly on to Southern India, the vast ruins of Vijayanagar have been subjected to a critical examination ; the relative merits of each of the numerous monuments there have been weighed, and a carefully thought-out scheme for preserving all those that are most worthy of preservation is now being vigorously pushed forward. In Vellore Fort, the old Hindu temple—one of the most perfect examples of Dravidian architecture—has been saved from the ruin with which it was threatened by the flooding in of the water from the surrounding moat. One of its pillared halls or *mandapas* which had subsided to a dangerous extent has been rebuilt, and the shrine itself skilfully refaced in places where it had become honey-combed by the exhaling moisture. Much attention also has been given to the Chennakesavaswami temple at Sompalle, built in the floriated style with its beautifully carved four-pillared marriage canopy, under which the nuptials of the celestials are solemnised, and to the re-excavation and clearance of the cave temples in the Fort rock at Trichinopoly.

Lastly, in Burma, the central figure in the programme of conservation has been the Palace and Fort at Mandalay, where striking improvements have been effected by the rebuilding of the lofty pavilions, or *pyathats*, upon the fortress wall, and the drastic sweeping away of many of the evidences of British occupation. It might be thought, perhaps, that the preservation of a Palace built by Shwe Bo Min little more than half a century ago, scarcely comes within the province of archaeology. But the Palace must be reckoned among the monuments of a dynasty that has now passed away for ever, and it is being maintained as the one example of their ceremonial and domestic architecture. More than this, the Palace stands as a majestic landmark in the history of the nation's art, embodying some of the finest examples of Burmese wood-carving, and serving to keep alive the glorious skill of the Burmese craftsmen, which, since Royal patronage passed away with Thibaw, has sadly languished for want of encouragement.

In concluding this brief account of the progress of conservation, it will be appropriate to refer also to the steps that have been taken to secure the preservation of minor and movable antiquities by instituting small museums in some of the main centres of archaeological interest and by stimulating local officers to assist in bringing together any objects of value upon which they may chance. This is one of the most important aspects of conservation, inasmuch as many of the smaller monuments scattered about the face of the country are incapable of preservation on the spot where they have been found and often too bulky to be removed to the larger museums which exist only in the capital cities of India; and, even if their removal were practicable, there are few local officers with sufficient general interest in the preservation of antiquities to take the trouble to despatch them to some far off Museum, where they themselves may never have the opportunity of viewing them again. The Museums which have been created during the past five years—all, it should be added, at the instigation of His Excellency the Viceroy—are at Malda in Bengal, at Pagan and Mandalay in Burma, at Bijapur in Bombay, at Sarnath near Benares, at the Taj in Agra, and at Peshawar in the Frontier Province. The districts in which these Museums are placed are sufficient guarantee that they will be rapidly stocked with interesting and valuable antiquities. Already in Pagan the efforts of one native assistant and the outlay of a few rupees have brought together a collection of inscriptions, idols, terracotta plaques, enamelled tiles and the like, well worthy of a place in the first Museums of Europe. By the institution of such collections the attraction of visitors to these localities will be greatly increased; fresh light will be thrown on the groups of monuments with which they are connected, and the minor antiquities themselves, which go to make up the collections, will be studied to a greater advantage on the actual spot where they have been discovered, than they could be, if dissociated from their surroundings in some distant Museum.

* * * * *

I come now to the future of conservation work in India, and in this connection I may refer at the outset to an illusory belief to which expression has often been given that a time would soon come when the Archaeological Survey might be disbanded, and the work of conservation if not complete, accomplished through the agency of the Public Works Department. That time has receded further year by year and the phantom might now, once and for all, be laid to rest. The fact is that the work of the Survey never can be finished, nor will the Public Works Department ever be in a position to undertake it. So far as their conservation is concerned, the monuments claiming the attention of the Archaeological Officers may be divided into two classes. In the one class are those of first-rate historical or architectural importance which are to be restored and kept in a permanent state of thorough repair. In the other are those which are to be saved from further decay and not restored in any way.

As regards the former class it is indeed possible that after a certain number of years (always supposing of course that the present generous policy towards Archaeology is uniformly maintained in British India, and continuously stimulated in the Native States) the Government will be able to assure itself that all the large undertakings at any rate throughout the country have been brought to a satisfactory finish, and that there will be need only of a comparatively small annual outlay to provide for the efficient maintenance of these monuments in the future. But that time cannot be for fifteen or twenty years yet. In the United Provinces, Bengal and Bombay, where there has been a fairly well sustained policy for some years past, and perhaps in Burma also, it may be that this estimate is too high, but in the Punjab and Madras and

in the Native States of Rajputana and Central India it will take all those years of patient labour to carry through the most moderate scheme of restoration. And while this is going on there will be need for the most scrupulous care and patient supervision on the part of the Archaeological Department. Those who have been the round of Indian buildings must know well what incongruities have been perpetrated through unskilful restoration in the past. The truth is that the successful repair of any monument demands an accurate knowledge of its architecture, knowledge of the history of the building and the events associated with its erection, and the knowledge, gained only by experience, of what repairs are appropriate and what are not. And with this knowledge must be combined sound artistic judgment and some measure of engineering skill. As an instance in point I may cite the case of the Tower of Fame at Chitorgarh, to which I have previously referred. Its crowning cupola was in a dangerous condition and had to be restored, but the body of the Tower was sound enough save for a few cracks caused by lightning. The State Engineer however decided, and another Engineer supported him, that it would be safer to pull it down as far as its foundations and rebuild it entirely. Doubtless it would ! The same might be said, and more forcibly, of half the monuments of antiquity ! But what of its inimitable carvings which were to be replaced by new ones, if broken in the hazardous process of demolition, and what of the time-worn beauty of the Tower, which no amount of skill could restore ? I do not hesitate to say that timely advice has in this instance saved one of her most cherished monuments for India, and an outlay of a lakh of rupees or more for the Native Durbar.

Turning to the second class of monuments, namely, those that stand in need of protective measures only, the handling which they require is equally delicate ; and the artistic taste of the repairer should be equally good. And in the case of these monuments, it should be noted, conservation is an ever-recurring factor, however judiciously the repairs may have been executed in the first instance. The destructive forces of a tropical climate are year by year working some havoc in masonry which can neither be seen nor prevented. Our experience has taught us that difficulties are for ever cropping up in connection with buildings that were thought to have been already completely and effectively repaired, and it is useless spending money now unless it is intended that the monuments shall be, as far as is practicable, permanently maintained. So far, therefore, as this class of work is concerned, the task before the Archaeological Department may be said to be an unlimited one.

There is yet another branch of work connected with conservation, which may be expected to increase materially the duties of the Archaeological Department in the future. It relates to the application of the various sections of the " Ancient Monuments Act." In the event of interference with any buildings in private possession, or in the event of their compulsory purchase, or the purchase of movable and minor antiquities, it will be the task of this Department to help in assessing their market-value and in securing a general uniformity in the amounts of compensation paid, and it will be their task to keep the Government informed of the removal or sale of any antiquities of value, or the despoiling of any ancient sites by excavation. This means a great deal. It means that we must possess thoroughly up to date knowledge of the market prices of every class of antiquities ; that we must keep in touch with the channels through which the traffic in them passes ; that we must periodically inspect any monuments of importance in private possession as well as those in possession of the State, and that we must preserve a record of any transaction connected with the application of the new Act.

When I was in Greece and Italy I used to see a good deal of the illicit traffic in antiquities and the measures taken to prevent it, and I used to hear much about the difficulties connected

with the compulsory purchase of monuments. The laws in those countries are of course far more stringent and lead constantly to difficulties such as there is no need to anticipate in India. But there the regulations in force are the outcome of long experience ; here it will take many years for them to be developed and reduced into a systematic form, and whereas in those countries expert advice is ready at every turn, if the Government require it, in India there is no agency through which it can be obtained, except the Archaeological Department.

SURVEY WORK.

In the account which is to follow of the progress made in the record of Archaeological material, the work of the Survey will, for convenience sake, be divided under two heads. Under the first will be considered the compilation of the general lists of antiquarian remains, and under the second, the preparation of elaborate Survey drawings or other illustrations of particular monuments.

(1) The several divisions of India where the antiquarian remains had already, previously to 1899, been catalogued with some degree of finality were the Madras Presidency, Coorg, Bombay (including Baroda), Central Provinces and Berar, and the North-West Provinces and Oudh. Besides these, the monuments in the Punjab had been very briefly and superficially catalogued, and rough lists had been prepared by the Public Works Department of the remains in Bengal and British Burma. The areas still entirely unsurveyed in 1899 were Rajputana, Central India, His Highness the Nizam's Territory, Kashmir, Baluchistan and the Frontier Province, and, in addition, the Survey had before it the task of revising and re-editing the lists for Bengal, and of practically compiling afresh those for the Punjab and Burma.

During the past five years the remains in His Highness the Nizam's Territory have been very completely listed and the publication issued in its final form. In Bengal the work of preparing a fresh edition of the old list published by the Public Works Department is almost complete. All the most important monuments have now been visited by the Archaeological Surveyor ; many omissions and errors in the old catalogue have been rectified, and much fresh information added by him. In the Punjab a complete catalogue of the monuments in the Delhi and Lahore Districts has been published with full literary references, but without descriptive narrative, and a list of the inscriptions in the same districts is ready for the press. Similar lists for the Kangra Districts also are now in hand.

In the Frontier Province the catalogue of monuments in the Peshawar region is practically finished ; and in Upper Burma a fresh list has been issued by the Public Works, but its final revision by the Archaeological Department has not yet been effected.

In the United Provinces, the old catalogue published in 1891 was found to be deficient, and a specially revised list of the antiquities in the Agra District has therefore been drawn up. Throughout the rest of the Province a considerable amount of fresh material has also been collected from local officials, chiefly with a view to fixing more closely the responsibility for the preservation of the various classes of monuments. A like revision of the old lists has been going on in Berar, and Madras, where fresh touring on the part of the Archaeological officers has given them the opportunity of inspecting many of the monuments previously unvisited.

In the new edition of the old lists and in the fresh lists now under preparation, a special effort is being made to include, in addition to the descriptive history of the monuments in the past, a further statement of their present condition and of the measures necessary for their

effective conservation. The effect of this will be to provide a more useful basis for a working programme for the Survey staff and the officers entrusted with the actual duties of conservation, and thereby to enhance the value of the lists for administrative purposes.

(2) In accordance with the provisions of the re-organization scheme of 1898, the systematic survey of important sites and monuments, which until then had constituted the main task of the Survey, has had to give way to conservation. But amid the increasing duties which conservation has imposed, occasional opportunities have been found to continue the survey work of former years. Of the Imperial series of Survey Reports one volume illustrating the Mughal Colour Decoration of Agra was brought out by the late Mr. E. Smith, and another of the same series dealing with the antiquities of Northern Gujarat by Dr. Burgess and Mr. Cousens. Mr. Cousens has also prepared an elaborate series of drawings and photographs of the Dilwara temples on Mount Abu, and a portfolio of exquisite coloured reproductions of Sind tilework. He has surveyed also many miscellaneous monuments in Berar and other parts of the circle of Western India, and has accomplished a most useful work in taking a complete set of 225 photographs to scale of the Sanchi Stupa. In Madras many additional drawings of monuments in the Kistna, Anantpur, North Arcot, and Madura Districts have been made for the purpose of completing a report on their architecture, which has for sometime been under preparation. An extended and minute survey of the whole of the Vijayanagar sites spreading over many miles of country and including many hundreds of monuments has been carried out, and besides this a very full series of illustrations has been made for a Report on the Architecture of the Malabar District, which is unique of its kind in the Southern Peninsula. In the United Provinces the illustrations for another volume relating to the Mausoleum of Akbar at Sikandra are ready for publication, and wait only for some further revision of the letterpress accompanying them. The majority of the Palace buildings in the Agra Fort have been surveyed and the illustrations, when completed, will form one of the handsomest publications yet issued. A similar survey of the Lahore Fort is also in progress, and some beautiful facsimile copies of about half the scenes represented in the unique tile ornamentation on the face of the Fort have been prepared under the supervision of the local Superintendent.

It should be added that many other miscellaneous monuments have been surveyed in parts of the Punjab, United Provinces, Baluchistan, Bengal, Assam, and Burma, many of them being buildings which for one cause or another it has been decided not to conserve.

* * * * *

Future of Survey work.—The most important Survey work waiting to be done in the immediate future is that connected with the listing of ancient remains. This is an all-important task, because it is the first step towards conserving them, and it is impossible to formulate any effective scheme of conservation until the lists have been completed. Making allowances for possible delays and hindrances, it will take some six or seven years more to compile the new lists and revise the most imperfect ones among the old. *Pari passu* with this work, drawings and photographs will be prepared of those monuments which are to be allowed to fall to decay. This is a work which cannot be postponed, as many of the monuments in question are rapidly disappearing. The Surveys of some of the most famous sites will also go forward—particularly of the vast collection of ruins at Delhi (of which not even a plan yet exists) and of those at Lahore, Agra, Mandu, Chitor, Gaur, Pandua, Mandalay, Pagan and of certain classes of

monuments in Southern India and Bombay. But the progress of these more elaborate Surveys must be slow, as they can only be taken up during the time that can legitimately be spared from other duties.

PIGRAPHY.

In the field of Epigraphy the main interest has naturally centred round the work of the Government Epigraphist, who has devoted himself almost exclusively to the inscriptions of the Madras Presidency. Ever since his arrival in India 17 years ago, Dr. Hultzsch has continued throughout to work on the same systematic lines—mapping out different areas year by year and searching them through and through for inscriptions, before he embarked upon new fields; accumulating material rapidly, setting it in order at once, and utilizing the fresh evidences it supplied to build up new chapters or to solve old problems in the history of Southern India. Each year has seen some fresh links forged in the chains of his discoveries, and his labours brought nearer to their maturity. It is difficult, therefore, to dissociate his work of the last five years from that which preceded it without destroying the unity and connectedness of the whole. I might, it is true, give a bald statement of the number of inscriptions that he has copied and, possibly, some notes of their contents; but if I did, I should fail to convey an idea of the full value of Dr. Hultzsch's work, which has lain quite as much in the skill with which he has manipulated his new material as in its mere collection and decipherment. I propose accordingly to sketch out the main additions which Dr. Hultzsch has recently made to historical knowledge, irrespective of whether they have been wholly or partially only the outcome of the past five years' work.

On the history of the Pallavas and their monuments, in particular, Dr. Hultzsch's researches have thrown considerable light. The rock-cut temples for instance, at Trichinopoly, Vallam, Mahendravadi and Siyamangalam can now be definitely assigned to the first-half of the seventh century A. D., as they were all excavated during the reign of the Pallava King Mehendravarman I of Conjeevram. An important event of the period of Pallava supremacy which Dr. Hultzsch has made known was the Saiva religious revival in the seventh century. The last known king of this dynasty was Nandivarman, who reigned about the middle of the eighth century A. D. Then came the latter Pallavas, whom Dr. Hultzsch has called Ganga-Pallavas. Of this period a number of inscriptions have been published. They were followed by the Cholas about the end of the ninth century A. D. All that is known of the latter is derived from the inscriptions edited by Dr. Hultzsch. The chronology of this dynasty presented serious difficulties which were overcome by a patient and careful examination of synchronous records belonging to the Kanarese and Telugu countries. As a result of these researches, we have recovered the names of a considerable number of Chola kings and a regular succession of them for more than two centuries. Of these, Parantaka I, who ascended the throne about A. D. 907, deserves particular mention as he appears to have established the power of the Cholas by conquering the Ganga-Pallavas. The two Uttaramallur inscriptions which give a detailed account of how village assemblies were managed in ancient times, belong to his reign. The Rashtrakuta conquest of the Tamil country and the temporary eclipse of Chola power are facts known mainly through the researches of Dr. Hultzsch and his staff. For the subsequent history of the Cholas from A. D. 985 to 1135 we are indebted entirely to his publications. This was the period when the Chola power was practically supreme in Southern India. It was occupied by the reigns of seven powerful kings, whose conquests are described at length in their inscriptions, and during whose time a number of South Indian temples came into existence. The great temple at

Tanjore was built by the powerful Chola king Rajaraja I, who ascended the throne in A. D. 985. It signified apparently another period of religious revival in Southern India. A number of important copper plates of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi in the Telugu country have also been published and throw fresh light on the history of that family. A few of them have also been useful in correcting certain mistakes in the chronology of the Cholas. The last Chola king was Kulottunga III, who ascended the throne in A. D. 1178 and reigned at least 37 years. The subsequent decline of the Cholas, the temporary supremacy of the Pandiyas, and the invasion of the Hoysalas of Halebid to help the former against the latter, are facts which are now as good as established in the history of Southern India. The initial dates of a number of Pandya kings have been recently ascertained and will be very useful in working out the later history of that kingdom. Of the dynasties of Vijayanagar a number of stone inscriptions and copper plates have been published, which are of material help in the history of Sanskrit literature. Regular genealogies of the three families have been made out, and the approximate dates assigned to a number of kings.

In the other parts of India and Burma epigraphical work has devolved upon the Provincial Archaeological Surveyors, who notwithstanding their other duties, have managed to devote to it a considerable amount of energy. For the most part, it has consisted in the simple copying and decipherment of inscriptions with the idea of publishing them for the use of others rather than of examining them critically for themselves. And in this we have been performing what should, I venture to think, be the main function of the Survey in all parts of India except Madras and Burma, viz., utilizing our time in collecting and preserving material and in making it easily accessible to private scholars in India or Europe. Outside of the Madras Presidency, moreover, almost all the epigraphical work of the last five years has been independent of previous labours, and it may, therefore, be easily summed up.

In Burma proportionately as the field there has been the widest, so the progress has been the most rapid. The Surveyor there has published two fresh volumes of miscellaneous inscriptions to the number of over two hundred, collected from various districts in Upper Burma. Besides this, a translation has been made of the inscriptions (180 in all) which were brought together by the late Dr. Forchhammer from Pagan, Pinya and Ava, and which the Archaeological Surveyor had already published in their original text previous to 1898, and a considerable amount of material has been collected with a view to elucidating the origin and development of the Burmese alphabet.

In Bengal approximately 150 Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic inscriptions have been recovered, the bulk of them of importance, as determining the dates of the buildings with which they were associated. Some among them of more general interest may be mentioned. One of Uddyola Kesari, a king of Orissa, is of particular value for the history of Orissa and for fixing the date of the Bhubaneswar temples; another proves that the Soubhandar Cave at Rajgir was excavated by Jains and not by Buddhists; while two others prove the existence of several of the tirthos of Gaya some 1,000 years ago.

In the small hill State of Chamba a very fine series of epigraphs—including over forty copper plates—has been collected by the Superintendent of the Punjab Circle, and by their aid he has succeeded in reconstructing the dynastic lists and otherwise amplifying our knowledge of the State. Several new Kharosthi inscriptions have been added to the short list of those previously discovered, and impressions of a number of other records have been taken in the Kangra, Delhi and Lahore districts, and in Baluchistan.

In the circle of Western India estampages have been made of 746 epigraphs, including nearly three hundred from the neighbourhood of Mount Abu. All of these have been passed on to the Government Epigraphist for publication or record.

In Central India some magnificently engraved slabs were discovered built into the *mihrab* of a mosque at Dhar, bearing, besides other records, the greater part of a drama composed by the famous Raja Bhoja about the time of the Norman conquest. Portions of a somewhat similar drama have also been found in the Arhai-Din-ka Jhompra musjid at Ajmer.

Other miscellaneous inscriptions on stone and copper have been copied in various parts of Central India, Rajputana and the United Provinces.

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As regards the future of epigraphical work the following statistics may give an idea of what remains to be done in Southern India. Up to the present 320 villages have been visited and nearly 4,400 inscriptions copied. In his *Lists of Antiquities* Mr. Sewell mentions 2,150 villages containing inscriptions. Thus there remain not less than 1,830 places, where inscriptions have yet to be examined. Mr. Sewell's Lists are not exhaustive, the number of un-inspected villages may be put down roughly as 2,000. In the Tamil country inscriptions were rarely engraved on dressed slabs; the majority of them are found on the walls of temples. According to a Tamil record, there are 270 temples in the Tamil country, dating from the seventh century A. D. A few of these have been visited, and, to judge from them, each of the rest must contain several hundreds of inscriptions. All these ought to be copied before the temples are pulled down by the Nattukottai Chetties. In the districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool only a very few villages have been examined, and in the Circars a large number of important places remain to be inspected. On the West Coast the inscriptions that have been discovered until now are comparatively few. But in ancient sites like Cranganore and Quilon excavation under skilled supervision may yield much fresh material.

In Burma, out of 37 districts into which Burma Proper is divided, only eight have been partially explored, and 968 inscriptions have been discovered. There is every reason to expect that the exploration of the remainder will yield equally numerous records. Burmese history and Burmese epigraphy are still almost untouched fields so far as European scholars are concerned, and it is very doubtful if many will be found to work up the new material, as they may be expected to do in the case of Indian inscriptions. If possible, therefore, the Archaeological Department ought to take upon itself the collection and co-ordination of such records as it collects, and the publication at any rate of any results which contribute materially to historical research. Phayre's History of Burma which was published in 1884, is an excellent pioneer work, but the time has already come for revising and amplifying it. And apart from the elucidation of indigenous history, and especially of the period antedating the rise of Anawrata the hero king of Pagan, there are certain important problems common to India and Burma (particularly those connected with the history of Buddhism and the influences exerted upon Indian civilisation by China) upon which further researches in Burma may help to throw most useful light.

As for the rest of India—it is difficult to give an even approximate estimate of the work to be done. The search for inscriptions has not been prosecuted on the same systematic lines as it has in Madras and Burma. A site here and there has been very carefully explored, and in some of the districts for which lists of monuments have been compiled, general catalogues

of the known inscriptions have also been published. But as these are based in many cases upon the returns of local native officers, the information they contain cannot be looked upon as in any way complete. From the lists of remains in other districts the inscriptions have been entirely omitted, while for a large part of Northern and Central India no lists of any kind whatever have been prepared. Rajputana, in fact, with Central India, much of the Punjab, the Frontier Provinces and Baluchistan are still almost entirely unworked, and it will take several years merely to catalogue and take impressions of the inscriptions which those districts contain.

CONCLUSION.

Enough perhaps has now been said to indicate that the work of the Archaeological officers is of a kind which cannot be discharged by any other existing Department of Government or through any private agency, and that it can only cease if the Government cease to admit their responsibility for the preservation of the ancient remains of the country.

If monuments are to be conserved or their restoration attempted, skilled supervision will always be necessary. If they are to be consigned to natural decay, a full record must be kept of whatever may be of interest in the future. The preliminary listing of the materials to be conserved is a task of but temporary duration which will be completed in a few more years, but while it lasts, great discretion will be needed in selecting the monuments that are worthy of being maintained, and when it has ended, the task of conserving these monuments will take its place. Public and private monuments alike will have to be watched and cared for. Large tracts of the country will have to be searched for inscriptions, and the inscriptions themselves (not a few of them in scripts or languages, of which European scholars profess no knowledge) will have to be deciphered. Antiquities will have to be brought together into Museums, and assistance given in cataloguing and arranging them. The exploration, too, of buried remains must form part of the programme ; and lastly, the results of the work should periodically be published, and no efforts spared to widen public interest in India's splendid treasure-house of relics.

The Government cannot yet look to private enterprise to discharge any one of these tasks. In India the genius of the people has not yet turned in the direction of the scientific archaeology or of veneration for the monuments of the past. In Europe, it is true, an international society was started more than five years ago for the purpose of exploration in India, but few adherents have yet been found to support it, and there is little hope, I believe, of the enterprise bearing fruit for many years to come. Even allowing that the society achieved its purpose and sent out excavators at its own expense, it would not thereby appreciably diminish the task before the Archaeological Survey. For the Government would always find it necessary to exercise the closest supervision over private excavations of that kind, and to constitute the Archaeological Department as a sort of Ephorality on lines similar to those followed in Greece.

Whether the natives of India can be trained to take the place of Europeans upon the Survey is still an open question. We have now three well-trained native epigraphists on the staff, whose work, so far as it goes, is of a thoroughly good quality but carries them no further than the decipherment of inscriptions ; and there are no other native archeologists possessed of sufficient artistic feeling or discrimination to be placed in charge of important monuments. One has only to read a few native art criticisms to realise the truth of this statement. Perhaps this is due to the fact that they never had an opportunity of being trained in the other, and

the more artistic, fields of archæology. But, whatever, the cause may be, serious attempts are now being made to put their capabilities in these fields to the test, and to see to what extent they can be developed. Two scholarships have lately been created, and the number, it is hoped, will afterwards be increased, which will enable us to select men of the best scholarly tendencies and to do our best to train them to the scientific methods followed in Europe. They are to be trained in each of the circles in succession in those subjects in which the respective European Superintendents have had most experience—in architecture, in sculpture and in epigraphy, in excavations, numismatics and the minor arts, and in a technical knowledge of drawing and photography, and they will have the advantage withal of extensive travelling, and the opportunity of educating their comparative faculties to the fullest degree. In another direction also we are endeavouring to promote the employment of native archæologists. One has recently been appointed as an assistant in the Circle of Western India, and we are making it our special object to instruct him in the highly mechanical processes connected with Archæology, which Mr. Cousens—the Superintendent of that Circle—has raised almost to the level of a fine art, and in other respects also to make him instrumental in keeping alive and transmitting to others the results of Mr. Cousens' long years of experience. When we have given these attempts a sufficient trial, we ought to be in a position to say whether it will be possible to allow much of the archæological work to devolve upon natives of this country, or whether we can only look to them to serve upon the Survey, as they have hitherto done, in the capacity of epigraphists or subordinate assistants.

(2) Sche

Existing staff of superior appointments

	Designation.	Present incumbent.	Pay (present pay in brackets).
			Rs.
1	Director General of Archaeology ..	Mr. J. H. Marshall ..	1,600
2	Superintendent, Archaeological Survey	Mr. H. Cousens ..	300—25—800 (800)
3	Ditto ditto	Mr. A. Rea ..	300—25—800 (600)
4	Archaeological Surveyor ..	Dr. T. Bloch ..	300—25—800 (400)
5	Superintendent, Archaeological Survey	Dr. J. Ph. Vogel ..	300—25—800 (375)
6	Government Archaeologist ..	Mr. Taw Sein Ko ..	* 350—30—500 (500)
7	Archaeological Surveyor ..	Mr. W. H. Nicholls ..	500—25—600 (500)
8	Ditto ..	Dr. M. A. Stein ..	200—10—250
9	Assistant Archaeological Surveyor ..	Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar ..	300—25—500 (300)
10	Epigraphist ..	Vacant ..	650—30—800

* NOTE.—An allowance of Rs. 150 a month has been sanctioned for the charge of the provincial

dule A.

of the Indian Archaeological Survey.

Charge.	Period for which sanctioned.	Reference to sanctioning order.	REMARKS.
All India	Five years ending February 1907.	Revenue Despatch No. 184, dated 29th November 1901.	
Bombay, Sind, Berar, Hyderabad and Central India.			
Madras and Coorg ..			
Bengal and Assam ..	Five years ending June 1904.	Revenue Despatch No. 114, dated 18th May 1899.	
Punjab, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Ajmer, Rajputana, Kashmir and Nepal.			
Burma		Telegram dated 15th May 1899, and Revenue Despatch No. 114, dated 18th May 1899.	
United Provinces and Punjab	Five years ending March 1909.	Revenue Despatch No. 25, dated 19th February 1904.	
North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.	Not fixed ..	Public Despatch No. 81, dated 10th July 1903.	Dr. Stein is Inspector-General of Education for the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan and receives an allowance for Archaeological work. The arrangement is personal to him.
Bombay Circle ..	Three years ending October 1906.	Revenue Despatch No. 148, dated 8th October 1903.	
....	Five years ending June 1904.	Revenue Despatch No. 114, dated 18th May 1899.	Mr. V. Venkayya has been appointed to act as Epigraphist on a lower rate of pay as a temporary arrangement.

museum, to be paid to the Government Archaeologist when the museum is opened.

(3) Schedule B.

Cost of Archaeological Survey Parties (exclusive of the annual provision of Rs. 1,00,000 for conservation of monuments).

				Rs.
India	..	..	..	.. * 59,750
Bombay Circle	..	..	..	.. * 20,640
Madras Circle (Provincial)	..	..	..	.. * 37,100 (including Government Epigraphist).
Bengal Circle	..	..	..	.. * 11,350
United Provinces and Punjab	..	..	..	.. * 25,360
Burma	..	..	..	.. * 23,200
Baluchistan and North-West Frontier Province	..	..	..	.. * 2,400
TOTAL				<hr/> 1,79,800 <hr/>

* Budget Estimate for 1904-05.

2. Despatch from Secretary of State, (Revenue No. 114) dated 29th July 1904.

I have considered in Council the letter of Your Excellency's Government, No. 23 (Archæology), dated 26th May 1904, on the subject of the future employment of the staff of the Archæological Survey, in view of the termination of the period of five years for which the continuance of the Survey was sanctioned by Lord George Hamilton's Despatch of 18th May 1899.

2. It is pointed out that as the appointment of the Director General of Archæology, which was sanctioned subsequently to that Despatch, does not terminate till 1907, the continuance of the survey staff till that date would in any case be necessary. You are, however, strongly of opinion that the time has now arrived when the Department itself should be made permanent. You state that the work of restoring and repairing ancient monuments will require close attention for many years to come ; that the work of archæological exploration and research is also far from complete ; that new powers and duties necessitating a staff of trained archæologists have been placed upon the Government by the recent Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments. You consider that in India these duties cannot be made over to private societies and scholars, and that the Government must continue to provide for their performance, if they are to be performed at all. On these grounds you seek my general approval to a proposal that the Archæological Survey Department should be placed on a permanent footing, subject to the maintenance of existing agreements with individual officers under which their services may be dispensed with after a specified period, and subject also to such changes in the existing scale of appointments as may be found necessary after reference has been made to the Local Governments. Meanwhile you recommend for my sanction, pending the result of such reference and the submission of a revised scheme of appointments, that existing appointments, which expire in the current year should be temporarily extended.

3. I sanction the temporary extension of the appointments in question for such further period as may be necessary for the completion of your inquiries, and for the revision of the existing scale of appointments in the Department ; and I shall be prepared then to consider favourably your matured proposals for its future constitution.

4. I gather from Mr. Marshall's interesting note on the work of the Survey that within 10 or 15 years most of the extensive operations for the conservation of the principal ancient monuments of India will have been brought to a conclusion, the archæological lists of the several provinces completed, and permanent records secured of those monuments which for one cause or another it is decided not to conserve. When this point is reached, the work remaining for the Survey will be less extensive and less pressing, and much of it will be of a character which, even in India, might be properly left to private individuals and learned societies. Assuming that the State will still require a Department of Archæology, a smaller

staff should then suffice. I am willing that continued employment in the Archæological Department should be admitted to the benefits of permanent service. But I desire that the scale of permanent pensionable appointments may be fixed with reference to the possibility that within a limited period the work of conservation, as regards at least all the more important ancient monuments, may have been nearly finished, and that a reduction of establishment may then be desirable.

5. I request also that I may be furnished with information as to the present position of the officers of the Department as regards eligibility for leave and pension.

3. *Despatch to Secretary of State, (Finance No. 373) dated 9th November 1905.*

In your Despatch No. 114, (Revenue), dated the 29th July 1904, replying to the proposals made by this Government for the constitution of the Archæological Department on a permanent footing, sanction was accorded to the temporary extension of the appointments in that department for such period as might be necessary in order to enable us to submit a revised scheme after consulting Local Governments. While intimating that you would be prepared to consider favourably our proposals for the reorganization of the department, you at the same time expressed the desire that in view of the possibility of the work of conservation, as regards at least the more important monuments, being brought to a conclusion within a limited period, the scale of permanent pensionable appointments should be fixed with reference to this contingency. You requested further that you might be furnished with information as to the present position of the officers of the department as regards eligibility to leave and pension.

2. On the receipt of your despatch a scheme for the reorganization of the department was drawn up and sent for criticism to the Local Governments, whose

* Not printed. replies will be found in the correspondence* in the annexed schedule. Our proposals,

it will be seen, have, with the exception of minor points of detail, been favourably received, and we are now in a position to urge with still greater force the necessity for constituting the department on a permanent basis.

3. The reasons which have led us to arrive at this conclusion, after giving the most careful consideration to all possible alternatives, are indicated in our Revenue Despatch of the 26th May 1904 and in the Note by the Director General of Archæology which forms one of its enclosures. The work of the Archæological Department may be described as comprising the following distinct lines of activity—(1) the restoration and maintenance in thorough repair of monuments

of first rate historical or architectural importance ; (2) the conservation of those monuments which we cannot undertake to restore, but which, in view of their historical interest and associations, ought to be saved from further decay ; (3) the prosecution of archaeological exploration and research ; (4) the administration of the Ancient Monuments Act. The first of these operations may, if the present rate of progress is maintained, be completed within the next fifteen or twenty years. But even when this stage has been reached we should hesitate to entrust the further repairs which will from time to time be necessary to the agency of the ordinary Public Works Officers without the assistance of competent archaeological experts. The buildings in question are of world-wide reputation, and any solecism that might be perpetrated by an ill-informed engineer would attract immediate attention in Europe and would redound to our lasting discredit. In respect of the buildings of the second class the task to be discharged is of a more difficult and delicate character and we cannot conceive that it will ever be possible to leave it to unskilled hands. As to archaeological research, we may, perhaps, look forward to a time when all known sites of antiquarian interest will have been exhaustively explored and the materials collected made available for the use of students. But even then the maintenance of the various local museums will demand the care and attention which only an expert can give. Finally, for the reasons given by Mr. Marshall in the note referred to above, the application of the Ancient Monuments Act to the various cases which must continue to call for the intervention of Government will require the skilled advice of a competent Archaeologist. These considerations, which might be amplified and illustrated by numerous specific instances, preclude us from contemplating even in the remote future the possibility of completely abolishing our Archaeological Department. We understand, indeed, from paragraph 4 of your despatch of the 29th July 1904, that you are disposed to accept this view, though you consider it desirable that the strength of the permanent staff should be fixed on such a scale as to render a reduction of establishment possible hereafter. So far as we can foresee, it is unlikely that any material reduction in the strength of the department can be effected within the next twenty years, but should we find that progress is more rapid than we now anticipate we shall be prepared to consider the possibility of not filling up vacancies in the present staff as they occur from time to time.

4. The scheme which we now recommend for your approval is briefly as follows :—

It is proposed in the first place to substitute for the present post of Madras Epigraphist an appointment of Government Epigraphist for the whole of India. For many years the services of the Government Epigraphist have been almost exclusively devoted to Madras, but we are strongly of opinion that the time has now come for considering the needs of other parts of India : and though no doubt the provincial surveys are fairly well equipped for epigraphical work, a central

authority is required to organize and collate their results and to assist them when some important discovery is made. At the same time the importance of Madras as a field for this form of research and its special linguistic conditions necessitate the retention of an officer for employment in that presidency. We therefore propose the creation of the appointment of a Government Epigraphist for all India on pay of Rs. 500—25—800 and also of an Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy on Rs. 300—25—500. Mr. Venkayya, who at present holds the appointment of Government Epigraphist, Madras, as a temporary measure, will be appointed to the latter post and will be allowed to commence the tenure of his appointment on his present pay of Rs. 400. For the former it will be necessary to recruit an officer from Europe who should be a competent Sanskrit scholar. It is suggested that if there are difficulties in procuring a suitable candidate willing to accept the initial pay of Rs. 500, he might be allowed to start on a higher rate in the same scale. The post of Government Epigraphist, Madras, will be abolished.

5. With the object of bringing the names of the various circles more into accord with the geographical areas embraced by them we have introduced certain changes in their nomenclature which are shown in the annexed table. We have also transferred the Central Provinces and Berar from the Bombay (now Western) Circle which had become disproportionately large, to the Eastern Circle. It is possible that further reconstruction of the circles may be found possible hereafter, but the present arrangement is determined by the character of our personnel, and it would be a mistake to attempt any further modification at present.

6. It is proposed to raise the rates of pay of the officer in charge of each circle, who will henceforth be called Superintendent of Archæological Survey, from Rs. 300—25—800 admissible under the sanction conveyed in your predecessor's Despatch No. 114-Revenue, dated the 18th May 1899, to Rs. 500—25—800. The lower rate was sufficient for officers engaged temporarily, but it was found necessary, when the post of Archæological Surveyor in the United Provinces and Punjab Circle was created, to raise the pay to Rs. 500—25—800, and if we require the services of men with a competent knowledge of architecture in addition to other acquirements, it seems to us impossible to offer less than the rates now proposed. In accordance with the principles now accepted on occasions of revision of pay we propose that future entrants should not be eligible for exchange compensation allowance. We also propose to withdraw the allowance from officers already in the department who now receive it. In order, however, to save such officers from actual loss we recommend that we should be empowered to place them in such a grade as regards increments as this condition may entail and that, in their case only, the maximum pay attainable should be fixed at Rs. 850.

7. There are, further, certain additions to the cadre which we consider to be imperatively necessary, *viz.*, the appointment of a Superintendent for the

Frontier Circle, and of an Assistant Superintendent for the Eastern Circle, the reasons for which are explained below.

8. In the Frontier Circle the arrangements hitherto in force under which Dr. Stein has held charge in addition to his duties as Inspector General of Education, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan, have not proved satisfactory, either from an archaeological or an educational point of view. Dr. Stein is now about to start on a journey of exploration in Eastern Turkestan which will take two years to carry out, while a further two years will in all probability be occupied in working up the results, and we think that this opportunity should be taken of placing the work of the Frontier Circle on a satisfactory footing. We have considered a suggestion that the circle should be placed under the charge of the Superintendent of the Northern Circle with the aid of an assistant, but we have come to the conclusion that this would place an undue burden on the Superintendent, while it is improbable that a native assistant could be obtained with a competent knowledge of Sanskrit who would be prepared to travel on the frontier. Such an arrangement would almost certainly entail the unfortunate result that the unique archaeological remains of the North-West Frontier Province will not be fully investigated for some years to come, and there is a danger that some of them may be made away with meanwhile. This being so, it seems to us better that we should obtain at once a competent Superintendent from Europe on Rs. 500—25—800, without exchange compensation allowance. For this post the Director General of Archaeology has suggested the appointment of Mr. David Spooner, an American now studying under Messrs. Kielhorn and Pischel, who, he believes, would be ready to accept it. We recommend this proposal to your favourable consideration, provided, of course, that on enquiry you consider Mr. Spooner to be otherwise a suitable man for the appointment.

Dr. Stein's name will continue to be shown on the strength of the Educational Department pending his return from his travels and the settlement of certain proposals, which we need not discuss here, as to the nature of his ultimate employment.

9. The appointment of an Assistant Superintendent in the Eastern Circle is necessitated by the transfer to that circle of the Central Provinces and Berar, and the urgent need for an officer with an expert knowledge of architecture. It is, moreover, essential that the subordinate ranks of the department should include officers in training who will be qualified to take charge of a circle when a vacancy occurs. The pay which we propose to attach to the appointment is Rs. 300—25—500, without exchange compensation allowance, and we would ask you to engage a candidate who should possess such architectural attainments as would qualify him to succeed to the post of Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Western Circle, the incumbent of which will, it is believed, retire in a few years. If notwithstanding the prospect thus offered you are unable to obtain the services of a candidate of the stamp required on the pay above

suggested, we would leave it to you to offer higher terms, which should not, however, exceed the salary proposed for Superintendents recruited in the future. For the same reason we consider that the appointment of Assistant Superintendent in the Western Circle should be made permanent.

10. We anticipate that the strengthening of the department, and in particular the appointment of a whole-time Superintendent for the Frontier Circle, will result in a substantial increase in the number of Arabic and Persian inscriptions which will have to be deciphered and edited. This branch of our epigraphic work has hitherto been done without remuneration by Dr. Ross, Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa, but in view of the increase in its amount and of the probability that it will entail the publication of a special series of the *Epigraphia Indica* devoted exclusively to Arabic and Persian inscriptions, we think it desirable to recognise Dr. Ross' labours and to make provision for their continuance on a regular basis by paying him a small salary of Rs. 100 a month. In view of the special qualifications which Dr. Ross possesses for conducting this particular form of epigraphy and of its close connexion with his duties as Officer in charge of the Records which include a valuable series of correspondence in Persian, we propose to treat this addition to his remuneration as a personal allowance. We shall shortly address you separately on the proposal to appoint Dr. Ross to the charge of the Records, to which reference is here made.

11. As a consequence of the abolition of exchange compensation allowance, it is proposed to raise the pay of the Director General from Rs. 1,600 to Rs. 1,700.

12. As regards claims to pension, it appears that none of the officers appointed since 1888, with the exception of Messrs. Cousens Rea and Venkayya, are entitled to pensions under their agreement. Now that their appointments will be made permanent, both the officers themselves and some of their subordinates will come under the ordinary pension rules. In this connection we recommend that the Director General should, on the analogy of other heads of subordinate departments, be allowed the prospect of an additional pension of Rs. 1,000 per annum under Article 475, Civil Service Regulations, provided that he renders not less than ten years' effective service from the date of first employment in India, as is laid down in the case of the Director General of Education.

13. The following officers are eligible for leave under the Indian Service Leave Rules :—Messrs. Cousens, Rea, Bloch, Vogel, Taw Sein Ko, Bhandarkar and Venkayya. Of these, Messrs. Bloch, Vogel and Bhandarkar would only be entitled to long leave if their appointments were made permanent. Of the remainder, Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nicholls are at present not entitled to long leave, but if made permanent would come under the rules for the European services. Dr. Stein is entitled to leave under the latter rules also. It is now proposed that all officers holding the appointments of Superintendent should be brought under the European Service Leave Rules in Chapter XIII of the Civil Service Regulations, while the Assistant Superintendents (in the absence of any special order to

the contrary in individual cases) should be entitled to leave under the Indian Service Leave Rules in Chapter XIV. In the event of our proposals being sanctioned we propose to confirm all of these officers in their appointments.

14. We propose to allow archaeological officers serving under the European Leave Rules, subject to any special orders which may be passed by the Local Government, a recess of three months in the hills during each year. We consider that this concession would render recruitment easier and at the same time would be profitable to the department owing to the improved quality and greater volume of work which would be turned out under healthier climatic conditions.

15. We also intend to prohibit archaeological officers from engaging in private practice. Our experience in other departments in which private practice is allowed is not encouraging, and we are strongly of opinion that it should not be permitted. We do not wish to disturb the agreement under which Mr. W. H. Nicholls is allowed this privilege.

16. Finally we desire to indicate our decided opinion that the new European officers whom it will be necessary to recruit should, if possible, be natural-born British subjects. It is true that in the case of the Frontier Circle the gentleman whose name we have brought to your notice is an American, but we are inclined to think that the objections to the employment of foreigners do not apply with full force to the appointment of Americans.

17. We may now state the financial result of our proposals. The additional expenditure involved on account of salaries and establishments is Rs. 31,288 per annum, as exhibited in the annexed abstract of the proposition statements, while under the heads of travelling allowances, supplies and services and contingencies a further increase of Rs. 8,850 per annum will be required on account of the new appointments of the Government Epigraphist and the Superintendent, Frontier Circle. The total increase will therefore be Rs. 40,138 per annum ; and the total cost of the department will be approximately Rs. 3,53,000 a year.

We do not regard this as an excessive amount to pay for the execution and supervision of the important and far-reaching operations which the Archaeological Department will be required to undertake.

FUTURE OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

Enclosures of No. 3.

(1) Comparative Table showing the changes proposed in the Archaeological Survey.

Present Circle.	Present staff.	Proposed Circle.	Proposed staff.
All India	1 Director General of Archaeology	All India ..	1 Director General of Archaeology. 1 Government Epigraphist.
Bombay (including Bombay, Sindh, Berar, the Nizam's Dominions, Central India, Central Provinces and Rajputana).	1 Archaeological Superintendent. 1 Assistant Archaeological Superintendent.	Western (including Bombay, Sindh, the Nizam's Dominions, Central India and Rajputana).	1 Superintendent, Archaeological Survey. 1 Assistant Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.
Madras (including Madras and Coorg).	1 Archaeological Superintendent. 1 Epigraphist ..	Southern (including Madras and Coorg).	1 Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.
Punjab and United Provinces (including United Provinces, Punjab, Ajmer, Kashmir and Nepal).	1 Archaeological Superintendent. 1 Archaeological Surveyor ..	Northern (including United Provinces, Punjab, Ajmer, Kashmir and Nepal).	1 Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.
Bengal (including Bengal and Assam).	1 Archaeological Surveyor ..	Eastern (including Bengal, Assam, Central Provinces and Berar).	1 Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.
North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan (including North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan).	1 Archaeological Surveyor ..	Frontier (including North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan).	1 Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.
Burma	1 Government Archaeologist	Burma ..	1 Superintendent, Archaeological Survey.

(2) Statement showing the financial effect of the scheme for the reorganization of the Archaeological Survey Department.

Office to which the proposition refers.	Present scale, average monthly cost.		Proposed scale, average monthly cost.		Increase per mensem.	Decrease per mensem.	REMARKS.
	Rs.	A. P.	Rs.	A. P.	Rs. A. P.	Rs. A. P.	
<i>Office of the Director General of Archaeology in India.</i>							
Director General of Archaeology ..	1,600	0 0	1,700	0 0	100 0 0	..	
Exchange compensation allowance ..	100	0 0	..	..	..	100 0 0	
Office establishment ..	477	8 0	575	8 0	98 0 0	..	
TOTAL	..	2,177 8 0	2,275 8 0	198 0 0	100 0 0	100 0 0	
<i>Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.</i>							
Government Epigraphist ..	..	..	(500—25—800) 676 10 8	..	676 10 8	..	
Office establishment ..	..	..	98 12 0	..	98 12 0	..	
TOTAL	..	..	775 6 8	775 6 8	..	..
<i>Office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Madras and Coorg.</i>							
Superintendent ..	..	(300—25—800) 550 0 0	(500—25—850) 698 5 4	148 5 4	..	34 6 0	
Exchange compensation allowance ..	..	34 6 0	..	..	..	..
Office establishment ..	..	819 7 4	319 7 4	..	..	..
TOTAL	..	903 13 4	1,017 12 8	148 5 4	34 6 0	34 6 0	
<i>Office of Government Epigraphist, Madras.</i>							
Government Epigraphist ..	..	{(650—30—800) 750 0 0	{(300—25—500) 426 10 8	..	..	750 0 0	
Assistant (Superintendent) Epigraphist ..	..	..	426 10 8	426 10 8	..	..
Exchange compensation allowance ..	..	46 14 0	..	..	..	46 14 0	
Office establishment ..	..	422 12 0	422 12 0	..	..	..
TOTAL	..	1,219 10 0	849 6 8	426 10 8	796 14 0	0	

(2) Statement showing the financial effect of the scheme for the reorganization of the Archaeological Survey Department.—contd.

Office to which the proposition refers.	Present scale, average monthly cost.			Proposed scale, average monthly cost.			Increase, per mensem.	Decrease, per mensem.	REMARKS.
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.			
<i>Office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Bombay.</i>									
Superintendent	(300—25—800)	550	0	698	5	4	148	5	4
Exchange compensation allowance	34	6	0	..	..	..	34	6	0
Assistant Archaeological Surveyor (to be now designated Assistant Superintendent, Archaeology).	(300—25—500)	426	10	426	10	8	..	..
Office establishment	329	0	0	329	0	0	..	..
TOTAL ..	1,340	0	8	1,454	0	0	148	5	4
<i>Office of the Archaeological Surveyor, Bengal.</i>									
Superintendent (formerly called Archaeological Surveyor).	(300—25—800)	550	0	698	5	4	148	5	4
Exchange compensation allowance	34	6	0	..	..	..	34	6	0
Assistant Superintendent (Archaeology) .. ..	..	..	..	426	10	8	426	10	8
Office establishment	228	8	0	363	4	0	134	12	0
TOTAL ..	812	14	0	1,488	4	0	709	12	0
<i>Office of the Archaeological Surveyor, United Provinces and Punjab.</i>									
Archaeological Surveyor	(500—25—800)	676	10	676	10	8	..	..
Office establishment	331	8	0	331	8	0	..	..
TOTAL ..	1,008	2	8	1,008	2	8	..	..
<i>Office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Punjab and United Provinces.</i>									
Superintendent	(300—25—800)	550	0	698	5	4	148	5	4
Exchange compensation allowance	34	6	0	..	..	..	34	6	0
Office establishment	363	0	0	363	0	0	..	..
TOTAL ..	947	6	0	1,061	5	4	148	5	4

(2) Statement showing the financial effect of the scheme for the reorganization of the Archaeological Survey Department.—concl'd.

Office to which the proposition refers.	Present scale, average monthly cost.			Proposed scale, average monthly cost.			Increase, per mensem.	Decrease, per mensem.	REMARKS.
	Rs.	A.	P.	Rs.	A.	P.			
<i>Office of Government Archaeologist, Burma.</i>									
Superintendent (formerly designated Government Archaeologist).	(350—30—500)			(500—25—850)			248 5 4	..	
Office establishment	450 0 0			698 5 4				..	
TOTAL ..	442 0 0			442 0 0			248 5 4	..	
<i>Office of the Archaeological Surveyor, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.</i>									
Superintendent (formerly called Archaeological Surveyor).	(200—10—250)			(500—25—800)			443 5 4	..	
Exchange compensation allowance ..	233 5 4			676 10 8					
Office establishment	14 9 0			..			..	14 9 0	
TOTAL ..	247 14 4			986 6 8			753 1 4	14 9 0	
Personal allowance for Epigraphist for Persian and Arabic.	..			100 0 0			100 0 0	..	
GRAND TOTAL ..	9,549 5 0			12,156 10 0			3,656 4 0	1,048 15 0	
							<i>Net increase Rs. 2,607-5-0 a month or Rs. 31,287-12-0 a year.</i>		

(3) Statement showing the proposed expenditure excluding salaries for the newly created offices of the Government Epigraphist for India and Archaeological Surveyor, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.

Office.	Expenditure.
	Rs.
<i>Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.</i>	
Travelling allowance	3,000
Supplies and services	400
Contingencies	1,450
	<hr/>
TOTAL ..	4,850
	<hr/>
<i>Office of the Archaeological Surveyor, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan.</i>	
Travelling allowance	2,300
Supplies and services	500
Contingencies	1,200
	<hr/>
TOTAL ..	4,000
	<hr/>
TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ..	8,850

(4) Comparative statement of expenditure sanctioned for the Archaeological Survey Department, during the years 1903-04 to 1905-06.

—	Actuals, 1903-04.	Revised estimates, 1904-05.	Budget estimates, 1905-06.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
<i>India Estimates.</i>			
Director General of Archaeology			
Bombay	}		
Bengal	}	2,95,596	2,23,700
United Provinces	}		2,35,400
Punjab	}		
Epigraphy	}	903	3,000
			4,500
<i>Burma Estimates.</i>			
Burma Circle	14,850	21,000	23,500
<i>North-West Frontier Province Estimates.</i>			
North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan Circle.	417	2,560	2,677
<i>Madras Estimates.</i>			
Madras Circle—			
Archaeological Survey	25,456	22,100	23,000
Government Epigraphist	14,627	11,300	14,500
TOTAL ..	3,51,849	2,83,660	3,03,577

Annual average Rs. 3,13,028 or Rs. 3,13,000 in round numbers.

IV.—FORM OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL REPORTS.

1. Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 7th March 1904.

Your letter of the 29th February has just reached me, in which you ask about the progress of my report. Part I, (the purely administrative part) was finished some time ago and I am waiting for a final proof. As regards Part II, I am afraid His Excellency will think that I have made a very slow work of it. The greater part of the letterpress, forming the body of the report, is now in the Press, but I have not any proofs yet which I can send to His Excellency; the remainder will follow to Press in the course of the next fortnight. I think I previously explained to you what difficulties I had in correcting the contributions sent by our Provincial Superintendents. Their English is frequently almost unintelligible, and much of it has to be practically rewritten. In addition, I have been intolerably hindered by the backwardness of Griggs and the Madras firm in getting my illustrations done, and when the proofs of many of them came to hand, they were so bad that new blocks have had to be prepared. Another year, I shall have learnt what publishing anything in India means, and I shall be able to make preparations accordingly.

Of the Introduction I have already had a rough proof, which, in order to save time, was printed for me privately when I was on tour; but as a number of alterations have been necessary, I defer sending it for His Excellency's inspection until a clean proof has been struck. In it I have explained the aims of our new Annual, in contradistinction to the previous publications of the Department, and have attempted to make the past history of the Survey, and the present scope of its operations, as clear as possible. I hope I have not done wrong in quoting some extracts from His Excellency's speeches for this purpose.

The Press has returned a proof of the cover for the Annual, the design of which I previously submitted to His Excellency. I regret to say that, in its present form, it has turned out a failure, and I doubt very much if we can now get anything artistic and chaste to take its place. I am forwarding the proof in a separate cover, and should be obliged if you would show it to the Viceroy. I must confess that I should be relieved in mind if His Excellency would permit me to adopt a perfectly plain and modest cover for this publication. The fact is that the contents of the volume fall so far below my expectation, that I dread giving to it any appearance of pretentiousness. His Excellency desired a book which should be artistic and pleasing. Step by step I have realised that we cannot produce such a book

annually. The illustrations are disappointing ; the subject-matter is disappointing and the printing and binding promise to be hardly less so. I am conscious of a degree of failure in trying to carry out His Excellency's wishes, and I would modify the style of the report proportionately. It is disheartening to have to make such a confession, but it may be as well to explain at once my own feelings on the subject.

I remain in Bombay for a few days longer, waiting for developments to show if my doctor's fears for my health are well grounded. If not, I start on tour again on the 11th to Nasik, Mandu, Jaipur, Delhi, etc.

2. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 17th March 1904.

I have shown to His Excellency your letter about your report. The Viceroy is very sorry to hear of the difficulties with which you have been confronted. He has read through your Introduction, which was obtained from your office. It was not quite correct in its tracing of recent history, and His Excellency thinks that you have been disposed to lay too much stress upon conservation *per se*, thereby exposing the Government of India to possible attack. I return you your proof sheets corrected, so as to make both these points right. You will, of course, make the further correction that you would have made in any case.

As regards Part I, His Excellency does not think that it will do in its present form. It is too long, it contains unimportant details, there is too much of the first person singular, and the information communicated is given in a strictly official style, which will excite little or no interest. His Excellency thinks that it should be entirely rewritten, and that there should be substituted for it a brief but bright account of the different places which you have visited and where the Government of India is undertaking work, giving some clue to the sort of work that is being taken in hand generally in each case.

I am sorry to gather from your letter that your health is still doubtful, and hope you will soon be able to take matters a little more easily when the touring season is over.

3. Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 22nd March 1904.

Your letter of March 17th, explaining His Excellency's wishes regarding our Annual Report has just reached me. I regret that Part I in its present form

is wholly disapproved of by His Excellency. You will remember perhaps that the instructions of the Revenue and Agricultural Department were that it was to be a purely departmental and formal Report, and I was told that it should be written in a *strictly* official style and not with a view to interest the public. In fact it was said that the information should be supplied as far as possible in the form of lists and the same instructions were also given to the Provincial Surveyors who are preparing their report on these lines. I say this by way of apology for causing His Excellency so much trouble. His Excellency does not, I think, understand that I am including an account of the year's work in the beginning of Part II. It will follow immediately after the Introduction, and will be the sort of thing which you describe in your letter. If I give another account in Part I, I could hardly avoid repetition, and in any case the public would not care to be bored with two such descriptions. If His Excellency thinks fit, I could cut this out of Part II and give it in Part I, but by so doing we should stultify the Resolution of 7th

July 1903, of which I enclose a copy.*

* Not printed.

Would it not be better to include all we

wish the public to read in one volume ? Part I might perhaps be suppressed altogether, for its publication is aimless, unless the details regarding establishments, expenditure and other uninteresting items are required by the Department ; and in that case Part II would be called merely the "Annual Report of the Survey," and we should then avoid any confusion between the two parts. I shall be very glad if His Excellency can see his way to approving of this new arrangement, which will simplify matters very much.

I have noted His Excellency's remarks about the Introduction, and make the necessary corrections. I felt sorry that it should have been seen in so embryonic a state, especially as a good many alterations have since been made.

4. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 25th March 1904.*

Your letter of the 22nd I have just received and shown to the Viceroy, who asks me to say that, from the Resolution of 7th July 1903, it does not appear that Part I of your Report, as you have written it, was ever intended to be published with or as part of Part II. On the contrary, the Resolution is explicit in the opposite sense.

It would, therefore, seem best to cut out Part I in its present form altogether (leaving it to the Department to say whether they think it necessary to publish it independently, which they probably will not) and to publish your Part II in such order as you yourself think best.

No doubt you will send in proofs of what we have not already seen.

As regards the binding, the decision must depend entirely on the nature and quality of the contents. If these are worthy of the rather pretentious cover it might stand. If they are not, something more modest might be substituted.

5. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 4th October 1905.

The Viceroy has a mixture of provincial archaeological publications relating to his time, 1899—1905, which he would like with your assistance to complete and bring up to date.

The following are the publications which he possesses :—

Bengal.—Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey. For year ending April 1902.

Burma.—Report of Archaeological work. For the year 1901-02.

Ditto.— ditto ditto 1902-03.

Bombay.—Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of W. India. For the year ending 30th June 1899.

North-Western Provinces and Oudh.—Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle. For the year ending 31st March 1900.

United Provinces.— Ditto ditto ditto
31st March 1903.

Photographs and Drawings referred to in the last.

Punjab & United Provinces Circle.—Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey. For the year ending 31st March 1904.

United Provinces & Punjab.—Part I, Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle. For the year ending 31st March 1904.

Ditto.— Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor.
For the year ending 31st March 1905.

Ditto.— Photographs and Drawings referred to in the last.

Punjab Circle.—Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Surveyor. For the year ending 31st March 1902.

Ditto.— ditto ditto ditto 31st March 1903.

The titles of the above seem to suggest a good deal of unnecessary divergence. Sometimes we hear of the Survey, sometimes of a Survey Circle, sometimes of a Surveyor, sometimes of a Superintendent, sometimes photographs are added, sometimes not. Would not some greater uniformity of title and treatment be

desirable ? Further, if there is a Report from the Survey Circle, surely there ought not to be an independent Report from the Superintendent or the Surveyor.

Perhaps when sending him all the missing Reports and books of illustrations for the past seven years, you would advise His Excellency on the above points.

Further, as regards your own Reports His Excellency has a large handsome volume bound in green cloth and entitled Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902-3. But subsequent to that he only has a paper volume of a very different shape and size, entitled Part I, "Annual Report of the Director-General of Archaeology for 1903-4."

Here too there would appear to be some divergence.

Lastly, have you a later edition than 1900 of the printed "List of Archaeological Reports not included in the Imperial series" ?

6. Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 9th October 1905.

I am sending you herewith the following Archaeological Reports, which will help to complete His Excellency's set :—

Bengal (begins 1900-01) 1901, 1903, 1904 and 1905.

Burma (,, 1901-02) 1904-05.

Bombay, 1900 to 1905.

United Provinces, 1899, 1901, 1902, and photographs and drawings for 1903.

Punjab (begins June 1901) 1901 and 1905.

Madras, 1899 to 1905.

One report only is missing, viz., Burma, for 1903-04, and this will be sent in a few days' time.

As regards the titles of these reports—Under the scheme for the partial re-organisation of the Provincial Circles, which is about to go to the Secretary of State it is proposed to call the heads of the local Surveys by the title of Superintendents, except the head of the United Provinces and Punjab Circle, who is to be called Archaeological Surveyor, in order to differentiate him from the Superintendent of the Punjab and the United Provinces Circle who covers identically the same territorial area. At the same time it is proposed to alter the nomenclature of the Circles which will in future be known as the "Eastern," "Western," "Southern," etc. As soon as these changes have been brought about, the titles of the Reports will be changed and brought into uniformity.

The form which these local reports are to take was laid down in the Government of India Resolution* No. 26-28-2 of 7th July 1903, a copy of which I enclose.

* Not printed.

I have not yet completely succeeded in bringing the various Provincial Reports into conformity with these instructions and with one another, although I furnished the several Superintendents with a model Report on which to base their own; but the points of divergence are comparatively few now and can, I think, be easily corrected, if the Local Governments have no objection. Illustrations are, in my opinion, hardly ever required in the Provincial Reports, as any special articles requiring illustration can be more conveniently contributed to Part II of my own Report, and in any case I think it a mistake to publish the illustrations in a separate cover, as is being done in the United Provinces.

My own Reports are published annually in two separate parts as laid down in the Resolution referred to. They commenced in 1902-03, but the first part for that year was not published by the Government of India. The second part for 1903-04 is just about to appear. The preparation of the illustrations has, I regret to say, been considerably delayed. In 1902-03 Parts I and II conformed with one another in size, but I was subsequently instructed to have Part I printed on the ordinary foolscap paper.

V.—MUSEUMS.

1. *Notes by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated May 1901, on the disposal of the Archaeological Collections made by Dr. Stein in Khotan and Chinese Turkestan.*

My sympathies are entirely with the point and view urged by Sir E. Law. I am sorry to find that the negotiations with Dr. Stein and the correspondence generally have for the most part been conducted without reference to me, though I find my initial in one place and my signature to a despatch in another.

2. There have in my view been a good many mistakes made on both sides :—

(1) The Secretary of State is mistaken in saying that we should or could have met the cost of the deputation from our Archaeological grant. We have no Archaeological grant for the purpose. The

* Pro. A, January 1900, Nos. 1—14. Rs. 80,000* or more which we are allowed are expended in salaries and establishments and there is, I believe, no surplus to be devoted to exploration. This mistake should be pointed out to the Secretary of State.

(2) There does not appear to me to be anything unreasonable in our receiving a small contribution from the Bengal and Punjab Governments, *provided* that the Museums at Calcutta and Lahore are to have a first claim upon the spoils. Upon this we ought, I think, all along to have insisted, and should still insist ; and it is indeed foreshadowed by the Secretary of State.

(3) There are in the Secretary of State's despatch no orders as to the refund of the money to the Local Governments ; nor, if the above conditions be observed, is such a proceeding, in my judgment, necessary.

(4) I am in complete disagreement with those who hold that Dr. Stein's collection should be given in entirety to the British Museum, on the ground that it will be more accessible there to scholars and students. The same argument would justify the transference to London, Paris, or Berlin, of every interesting object of antiquity that is found in out of the way places ; and is fatal to the creation of the only means by which archaeological knowledge can be widely diffused, *viz.*, local museums. We shall never get a really representative collection in India if the British Museum argument is steadily and logically applied. Our object should be to persuade scholars to come out here, and to study our treasures or relics in India, instead of allowing them to be swamped in the overstocked collections

of the British Museum. In the old days the argument could be used that it was necessary to carry off the objects to London : because if left in the country of their origin or discovery they would perish. This was the main justification for carrying off the Elgin Marbles to the British Museum. Nowadays the same cannot be said. Localities are competent and have the means to safeguard their treasures. Our museums are at present sadly lacking in value and variety. If, with every fresh discovery that is made by the employment of Indian funds, we yield to the British Museum contention, we may as well close their doors altogether.

3. In my time, at any rate, nothing shall go out of the country that can properly and reasonably be kept in it ; and we have an excellent opportunity here of putting these views into operation.

4. Fortunately an opening is afforded to us, firstly, by the words of our own despatch of 3rd January 1901, in which

Pro. A, January 1901, Nos. 1-4.

we say—“ It is proposed that *a share* of the

archæological proceeds shall be ultimately deposited in the British Museum ” ; secondly, by the expression of the Secretary of State’s opinion that “ the Museums at Lahore and Calcutta should have the first claim to such articles of archæological interest as Dr. Stein may have collected at the cost of Indian revenues. ”

I think that we should unhesitatingly accept this condition and that, after Dr. Stein has arranged and classified his collection at home, he should be invited to divide it into three portions respectively, for Calcutta, for Lahore, and for the British Museum, the ultimate distribution to be approved of by ourselves in consultation with the Secretary of State.

5. The Secretary of State’s misuse of the argument about the Archæological grant, should, in our reply, be utilized as an additional plea for the concession to the Government of India of the annual grants for which we have pleaded in connection with the proposed appointment of a Director General of Archæology in India the sanction to which came by telegraph to-day. We may accept the Secretary of State’s main proposition that it is desirable that exceptional expenditure such as the present should be met out of Imperial funds, and may point out that with a special grant for the purpose no appeal to Local Governments is in the future likely to be made.

I hope that in future the Department will be good enough to submit to me any case involving a question of archæology, at each stage. I like to know what is going on instead of coming in at the end.

15-5-01.

In reply to Hon’ble Member’s note, I believe that Dr. Stein’s discoveries consist largely of inscribed tablets or bricks, and also of other concrete objects which can as well be deposited in India as in London. The proposed distribution will enable the British Museum in consultation with Dr. Stein and ourselves to retain whatever is necessary for expert examination or study at home. Nothing

need be brought to India that will crumble to dust here any more quickly than it would in London. The answer to the second question, why should our Indian Museum have the first claim on archæological finds in Chinese Turkestan, seems to me to be equally simple. It is because they were found with our money and by our man.

2. The discussions and photographs connected with previous discoveries in Khotan, etc., have appeared in Indian not in British magazines. Dr. Stein may be relied upon to prosecute his studies as long as he is in our service, and to bring him back to India while leaving the whole of his collections in London, would to my mind be absurd.

3. I venture however to think that the despatch, as I have amended it, will satisfy the Hon'ble Member, since I nowhere say that the partition is to be executed at the expense of the British Museum. On the contrary I have not a doubt that a distribution will be made that will deposit in each of the three museums the objects best suited to it.

25-5-01.

2. Note by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 30th May 1902, deprecating the removal of Ancient Relics from their original sites. Establishment of a museum at Poona or Bombay.

The question raised is one of principle, and it involves a much wider range of application than the limited case of Bijapur. It is the question whether we are to encourage local collections or museums in India, in connection with the localities or neighbourhoods where the objects have been found, or whether we should, for the reasons named by Bombay and by Hon'ble Member, centralize in capital cities or larger towns. To my mind there can be no doubt that the former is the sound and the latter the faulty principle. I am acting or advising upon the former basis throughout India. I have persuaded Sir J. Woodburn to start a small exhibition or museum at Malda, of the sculptured stones, enamelled bricks, etc., from the ruins of Gaur and Pandua. At present they are lying about uncared for, or have been purloined for private houses and gardens. The visitor to Gaur and Pandua must start from Malda, and will see the remains there, whereas the odds are that they would be entirely overlooked (apart from the expense of removal) in a corner of the Imperial Museum at Calcutta.

Again I have instructed Colonel Deane to start a local museum at Peshawar, and, if he can, to recover some of the lost objects of his Province from the museum at Lahore.

Similarly, I got Sir F. Fryer to start a local museum for the stamped and enamelled bricks, the Buddha figures, etc., at Pagan.

2. Why should we surrender this principle—all for the sake of a few rupees—at Bijapur? If “there has never been any one there who has taken much or any interest in it,” that is the fault of the Local Government which has not itself shown the least interest and has not instructed its officers: and if “most officials have looked upon it as so much lumber and rubbish”—that only illustrates the stupidity of the Bombay officials.

3. It is a very good thing that there should be a museum at Poona, or if the Governor prefers, at Bombay, for the collection of scattered slabs, stones and archæological objects in general, from different parts of the Province: though I very much question whether a room or rooms in the Town Hall are the proper sort of place for the purpose.

4. But where a collection already exists, in connection with a famous group of buildings or remains, that attracts visitors on its own account, and represents the architecture or sculpture of a particular epoch or style, then I think it a great pity to sever these objects from their natural surroundings, in order to add to the size or the symmetry of a central collection.

5. If the plea be raised that it is necessary for their conservation, the answer would seem to be that nothing is required beyond the orders of Government and a slight outlay for their proper conservation at Bijapur. It is pitiable to hear a Local Government say that the collection will be at the mercy of future Collectors and Assistant Engineers, when the present fortuitous combination of local intelligence has disappeared: while, if the contents are as reported at present unsafe, then the Local Government cannot possibly be acquitted of blame for not making them safer.

6. I think we might reply in this general sense, though not of course *verbatim* in the above terms, and might say that the Government of India having adopted the policy of encouraging local collections in places where the conditions that I have described exist, they would be most reluctant to sanction a departure from them in such a case as Bijapur: and that it would, in their opinion, be far better to issue such orders as would ensure the proper custody and due conservation of these objects at Bijapur itself than to carry them off to Poona or Bombay.

7. Director General of Archæology should see.

3. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to W. A. Inglis, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Public Works Department, dated 4th February 1903, on the erection of the Burmese Throne in the Indian Museum.*

The Viceroy desires me to ask for your help in the following matter. He brought over some time ago a Burmese throne which was to be set up in the

Museum. Will you give orders to start the work of setting up the throne directly the Museum authorities are ready to superintend the operation ?

4. *Letter from R. G. Kennedy, Esq., Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 6th February 1903, on the erection of the Burmese Throne in the Indian Museum.*

Please see Mr. Gwyther's reply concerning the Museum work.

Enclosures of No. 4.

- (1) *Letter from R. G. Kennedy, Esq., to W. Banks Gwyther, Esq., Executive Engineer, Calcutta, dated 6th February 1903.*

Please say if you are arranging for this—if any further orders are necessary please issue the same now and let me know if this is all right.

- (2) *Letter from W. Banks Gwyther, Esq., to R. G. Kennedy, Esq., dated 6th February 1903.*

The work is in hand and will be completed about the end of this month. It was not begun earlier owing to a communication from the officer in charge of the Art section of Museum (dated 19th December 1902) to this effect—"His Excellency expressed a wish that the erection of the throne might be done in the first week of February : I beg that you will not commence work without communicating with me."

5. *Letter from I. H. Burkill, Esq., Secretary to the Trustees, Indian Museum, dated 4th March 1903. Label for the Burmese Throne in the Indian Museum.*

The enclosed card gives the label which I propose, if His Excellency approves, to place on the *Hluttaw* throne of ex-King Thibaw. The card will be printed, and will be twice as long as the rough pattern sent. I should like to know if the wording is what the Viceroy wishes.

The throne is in place in the Art-ware Gallery of the Museum and looks very well, but the lacquering and gilding of the new woodwork is delayed by the need of getting an artisan from Burma to do it. The hand-rail I regret can hardly be fixed in front of the throne as space does not permit. I have, however, a place on the little staircase where a length of it could go, not a conspicuous place, but it would at least be shown.

The side doors are ready to be forwarded whenever His Excellency wishes.

6. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to I. H. Burkill, Esq., dated 5th March 1903. Label for the Burmese Throne in the Indian Museum.

The Viceroy desires me to thank you for your letter of 4th instant. I return the label modified by His Excellency.

7. Letter from the Government of the United Provinces, dated 25th November 1903, enclosing letter from the Commissioner of Agra, on the progress made in collecting specimens for the Taj Museum at Agra.

I am directed to submit, for the information of His Excellency the Viceroy, a copy of a letter, dated the 16th instant, from the Commissioner of Agra, reporting the progress made in collecting specimens for the Taj Museum at Agra.

Enclosure of No. 7 :

Letter from H. W. W. Reynolds, Esq., Commissioner, Agra Division, to the Government of the United Provinces, dated 16th November 1903.

In compliance with G. O. No. 1946-I.—273-G., dated 18th June 1903, I have the honour to inform you that the room in the north-west corner of the gateway which was originally selected for the museum has been found to be too dark.

The south-west room which is the lightest of the four has been cleaned and whitewashed and matting is now being placed in it. This work will be finished in the course of a few days.

2. A carved wood specimen case is ready and affords ample space for displaying specimens under glass and it also has several large drawers. A revolving stand for showing photographs is being made and will, it is hoped, be ready by the 15th December. It will contain 16 photo-

graphs 12" x 10" showing the buildings and gardens at various periods since 1865, each being placed under glass and arranged for easy comparison of the photographs one with another.

3. *Collection of old plans.*—In addition to the old plan of the Taj, which was procured by Mr. Impey some three years ago, copies of two old plans of the fort on cloth and a small water-colour painting of the Taj (referred to in your letter under reply) have recently been procured by me.

Arrangements are being made for suitably mounting and framing these plans and picture.

The Collector of Agra reports that Mr. Aikman is being addressed in regard to some old pictures of which he is understood to have information.

4. *Collection of photographs.*—A large assortment of photographs of the Taj has been got together by the Collector, Executive Engineer and myself. From these a selection will be made for display in the revolving stand.

Mr. Polwhele, Executive Engineer, proposes to make a search for more photographs in Bombay towards the end of the month.

5. *Collection of stones.*—The Executive Engineer has collected a large number of the different stones used in the construction and ornamentation of the Taj, in fact he has a specimen of almost all of them in their natural state and he has had one face polished. There are certain stones, however, which he has not been able to identify or to get a good specimen of, but he hopes to be able to find them in Bombay.

In the *pietra dura* work of the screen and cenotaph there are agates and jaspers of many colours and shades, all of which Mr. Polwhele hopes to match in course of time and in order that they may be readily located, he proposes to place alongside of each of the specimens in the museum a copy in *pietra dura* or a painting of the particular leaf of flowers, etc., in which the stone is to be found in the original.

6. *Other collection.*—Mr. Polwhele proposes to show the method adopted for conveying water under pressure for fountains and a specimen of one of the old fountains taken out from the canal around the central tank in the Taj garden. A selection of the old earthenware pipe embedded in masonry is being prepared and the copper vessel and pipe which form the fountain will be connected to it. He also proposes to exhibit a piece of carved marble screen of the pattern of that around the cenotaphs showing the work in every stage and the tools used upon it. This is in hand.

Another collection is being made to show the method of cutting and preparing the pieces of stone for inlay and *pietra dura* work, the tools used and the methods of fixing.

7. The work is being pushed on as rapidly as possible, but the collection of specimens is necessarily a slow process.

8. *Letter from Hon'ble Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer, Offg. Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor-General, North-West Frontier Province, dated 24th July 1905, on the contribution for the Victoria Memorial and Museum at Peshawar.*

I wish to invoke your good offices on behalf of the Victoria Memorial at Peshawar, a scheme in which His Excellency the Viceroy is sure to take a deep

interest and which we had hoped to have completed in time to allow of the building being formally opened by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales during his visit to Peshawar in December next.

The history of the scheme is briefly as follows :—To perpetuate the memory of Her late Majesty by some suitable memorial at Peshawar, a sum of Rs. 20,000 was raised in 1901-02 by private subscriptions throughout the Province : Rs. 20,000 was contributed by the Municipality and Rs. 5,000 by the District Board of Peshawar—total Rs. 45,000.

It was decided, in accordance with the wishes of the subscribers, that the Memorial should take the form of a large Durbar Hall which is much required in Peshawar. At the same time the necessity for erecting a Museum in Peshawar was brought prominently forward by Mr. Marshall, the Director General of Archaeology, at his visit in the spring of 1903, and he gave us hopes which, under the circumstances, were regarded as equivalent to a definite promise, that if a Museum for the custody of the local antiquities (especially the Buddhist sculptures, etc., in which Peshawar and its vicinity are so rich) could be included in the scheme, the Government of India would probably be able to give a grant-in-aid of Rs. 15,000 towards the total cost. On the strength of that promise it was assumed that we should have Rs. 60,000 available, and we made our arrangements accordingly. An excellent site was obtained close to Government House on the main road between the city and cantonments, and an admirable design (with detailed plans and estimates) which has met with general approval, was prepared for us by Colonel Sir Swinton Jacob.

However, before putting the work in hand, Major Rawlinson (then Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar), in October last, again addressed the Director General of Archaeology with reference to the grant-in-aid. He replied (demi-officially) that he could not then make a definite promise that the Rs. 15,000 would be forthcoming, but that we might rely on his doing his best to get the money in 1905-06, before which it was not likely to be wanted.

On this the work was given out on contract and begun in accordance with Sir Swinton Jacob's design and estimates which were framed on the understanding that a total sum of Rs. 60,000 would be available for the building and its furnishing and interior decoration. The work is now progressing rapidly and satisfactorily, and, if we can complete it according to Sir Swinton Jacob's design, it promises to be a building beautiful in itself and a worthy memorial to the late Queen-Empress. This, however, depends on our receiving the grant of Rs. 15,000 from Government towards the cost of the Museum, and it is upon that point you may be able to assist us. Mr. Marshall now writes (demi-officially) to the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar,—“The subsidies asked for (by Provincial Governments) amount to Rs. 3,20,000, and we have a lakh to meet them, but are asking the Finance Department for more. If we get what we want, we shall be able to assist you. But it is very doubtful. Particularly as you have made

no provision for archaeology in your own budget." (He evidently thinks that we have a system of Provincial finance, but we have not, our income and expenditure being Imperial.)

The prospects of the grant of Rs. 15,000 which the Director General himself practically offered two years ago, and on the strength of which the whole scheme was elaborated, are now becoming more and more remote, and we are consequently placed in a rather awkward position. It was with considerable difficulty that Sir Swinton Jacob was able to design us a building of the structural dimensions for a large Durbar Hall and a suitable Museum within the sum at our disposal.

If we cut down the design and alter the plans at this stage, we shall entirely destroy the symmetry and proportions of the building. We cannot ask either the Municipal Committee or the District Board of Peshawar, which have been so liberal in the matter, to make further contributions, nor would it be seemly at this stage to invite further private subscriptions for the completion of that part of the structure which was included in the scheme at the instance of the Director General of Archaeology.

The situation is a difficult one, and it is necessary to find some way out of it as soon as possible, so that the building may be completed before the Prince of Wales' visit.

It is with that view that I venture to ask that you will be good enough to bring the circumstances to the personal notice of His Excellency the Viceroy. If His Excellency shows a sympathetic interest in the matter the Finance Department will doubtless be able to find us the necessary grant-in-aid.

9. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to H. A. Stuart, Esq., C.S.I., Offg. Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated 28th July 1905, on the contribution for the Victoria Memorial at Peshawar.*

The Viceroy desires me to forward the accompanying letter from Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer, regarding a contribution from archaeological funds for the Victoria Memorial at Peshawar. Will you please let me know the views of the Department upon it?

VI.—CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORKS.

Notes by Viceroy on Home Department file.

Surely we are talking about quite different things. By a catalogue raisonné I have always understood a bibliography of the books and writings on Indian Archæology alone. Were I in England I would undertake to complete it myself in three months. What Director General of Archæology means therefore by talking of 10 years, I do not understand. Surely Scherman is covering a far wider field, and there is little analogy between the two cases. The bibliography would, according to my idea, always be in course of being compiled in Mr. Marshall's Department; as soon as it attained anything like completeness, it would be published.

Attempts to do this on a partial and imperfect scale have already been made in some of the earlier volumes of the series. It is upon these that I desire to improve.

Perhaps Director General of Archæology will advise on the above.

6-7-05.

I was correct in assuming that Director General of Archæology and I were talking about entirely different things. Archæology is of course the science or study of all antiquities from a superb mausoleum to a flint axe, and an archæological bibliography, viewed in this wide sense (even if confined to India alone) might well require years for its compilation. But when I added

paragraph 6 to our letter* of 10th June 1902 that is not what either Sir D. Ibbetson or I had in view.

We were not thinking of stone implements, or palm leaf manuscripts, or copper plates, or engraved gems, much less of folklore and superstition. We were thinking of the chief archæological treasures of India, which consist of buildings and monuments, constructed or carved by man.

In my view it should be one of the duties of the Director General of Archæology to construct such a bibliography. For instance if we want to know all that has been written about Saracenic architecture in India, we ought to find the references in this work, similarly about Agra, or the Taj, or Cave-temples in general, or Ellora in particular.

The catalogue of Mr. Marshall's official library is useless for the purpose, for it contains a great deal of archæology other than Indian, and a smattering of history, ethnology, mythology, biography, philology, geology, general literature, and even general rubbish.

When the Director General has compiled his catalogue raisonné of books and writings (for articles in periodicals will have to be included) on Indian archæological monuments and buildings—which he could easily do with the aid of the various published bibliographies and by the employment of a few paid scribes in the British Museum and other great libraries—he could then go on, if he liked, to coins, inscriptions, and other forms of antiquities. But if he continues to entertain the idea of a bibliography that he has sketched, then I foresee that not merely will he require as many quinquennial extensions as I hope he may be persuaded to accept, but that life itself (with the appliances open to him in India) will not be equal to the task.

I once compiled a bibliography myself and I know exactly how it can and ought to be done. It is a work requiring much patience and concentration. But it is one of perfect ease.

28-7-05.

VII.—SPEECHES OF VICEROY.

1. *Speech (Extract) at Brindabun, 5th December 1899.*

I have learnt, with no small interest, from your address that I am only the second Viceroy who has visited the picturesque and sacred town of Brindabun. I once saw an album of photographs of the temples and shrines in this famous spot ; and I resolved that if ever again I found myself in the neighbourhood, Brindabun should at all hazards be included in my itinerary. A great and becoming reverence is paid by humanity to the birthplace of heroes and to the sanctuaries of nations. Whatever has attracted the enthusiasm or has inspired the devotion of large masses of mankind is deserving of more than a superficial attention ; since it is by such sentiments that men have as a rule been impelled to exceptional deeds. In Brindabun the piety of your devotees has adorned this locality with some of the most magnificent temples that have been erected in modern times—the majority of them, I may remark, under the secure and even-handed protection of British rule. But your most considerable ancient structure, the temple of Govind Deva, which I have seen described as the most impressive religious edifice erected by Hindu art in Northern India, also owes its restoration to the British Government, which 25 years ago allotted a sum of more than Rs. 30,000 to the task. I do not quote this fact so much as illustrating the considerate impartiality which the Supreme Power has consistently displayed in India towards the sectaries of rival creeds, as because it exemplifies what, in my opinion, is one of the primary duties of Government in this country. I regard the stately or beautiful or historic fabrics of a by-gone age, independently of the purpose for which they were set up, or the faith to which they were dedicated, as a priceless heirloom, to be tenderly and almost religiously guarded by succeeding generations ; and during my administration of the Government of India no one shall find me niggardly or grudging in the practical realization of this aim. We are not ordinarily so rich in originality ourselves as to afford to allow the memorials of an earlier and superior art or architecture to fall into ruin ; and I accept the conservation of the ancient monuments of India as an elementary obligation of Government.

2. *Speech (Extract) at Agra, 5th December 1899.*

You have not erred in calling my attention, even in a passing paragraph, to the glorious monuments of the past that have made the name of Agra a house-

hold word throughout the civilised world. I said in my reply to the Municipal Address that was presented to me at Brindabun this morning, that I regarded the conservation of national monuments as among the first duties of Government : and, if such be my views, you may imagine with what scrupulous and jealous care I shall apply this canon to the case of the priceless relics of the Mogul epoch at Agra. The British nation has, I hope, now purged itself of the spirit of stupid and unlettered vandalism which led it in earlier days, wherever possible, to turn a disused palace in India into a barrack, and to obliterate with a uniform whitewash the exquisite decorations of the classical age. An immense amount of care has been devoted in recent times to the examination, the illustration, the preservation, and the repair of the principal monuments at Agra ; and at the present date large sums are being annually expended upon the upkeep of the Taj, of the Palace in the Fort, of the Tomb of Akbar at Sikandra, and upon his deserted town of Fatchpur Sikri. I shall examine all these buildings, which are already well known to me, with the most minute care ; and shall not rest satisfied until, in each case, the structure has been rendered secure against the ravages of further decay and has received such attention as may be feasible and desirable in faithful renovation, or reproduction of that which has been injured or destroyed.

With these memorials of a vanished epoch the modern world, with its different objects and ideals, can never aspire to compete. In a more utilitarian age we expend the public funds not upon forts and palaces and tombs but upon institutions of ascertained worth and of public value. Hospitals, colleges, and schools have taken the place of the regal fabrics of the past. I rejoice to hear that in this respect Agra is not falling short of its ancient traditions ; and that its monuments of the nineteenth century, if they are not magnificent, are at any rate useful, and, instead of gratifying the costly tastes of kings and princes, are devoted to the unpretentious service of the community.

3. *Speech at Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 7th February 1900.*

I hope that there is nothing inappropriate in my addressing to this Society a few observations upon the duty of Government in respect of Ancient Buildings in India. The Asiatic Society of Bengal still, I trust, even in these days when men are said to find no time for scholarship, and when independent study or research seems to have faded out of Indian fashion, retains that interest in archaeology which is so often testified to in its earlier publications, and was promoted by so many of its most illustrious names. Surely here, if anywhere, in this house which enshrines the memorials, and has frequently listened to the wisdom, of great scholars and renowned students, it is permissible to recall the recollection of the present generation to a subject that so deeply engaged the attention of your early

pioneers, and that must still, even in a breathless age, appeal to the interest of every thoughtful man.

In the course of my recent tour, during which I visited some of the most famous sites and beautiful or historic buildings in India, I more than once remarked, in reply to Municipal Addresses, that I regarded the conservation of ancient monuments as one of the primary obligations of Government. We have a duty to our forerunners, as well as to our contemporaries and to our descendants,—nay, our duty to the two latter classes in itself demands the recognition of an obligation to the former, since we are the custodians for our own age of that which has been bequeathed to us by an earlier, and since posterity will rightly blame us if, owing to our neglect, they fail to reap the same advantages that we have been privileged to enjoy. Moreover, how can we expect at the hands of futurity any consideration for the productions of our own time—if indeed any are worthy of such—unless we have ourselves shown a like respect to the handiwork of our predecessors? This obligation, which I assert and accept on behalf of Government, is one of an even more binding character in India than in many European countries. There abundant private wealth is available for the acquisition or the conservation of that which is frequently private property. Corporations, societies, endowments, trusts, provide a vast machinery that relieves the Government of a large portion of its obligation. The historic buildings, the magnificent temples, the inestimable works of art, are invested with a publicity that to some extent saves them from the risk of desecration or the encroachments of decay. Here all is different. India is covered with the visible records of vanished dynasties, of forgotten monarchs, of persecuted and sometimes dishonoured creeds. These monuments are, for the most part, though there are notable exceptions, in British territory, and on soil belonging to Government. Many of them are in out of the way places, and are liable to the combined ravages of a tropical climate, an exuberant flora, and very often a local and ignorant population, who see only in an ancient building the means of inexpensively raising a modern one for their own convenience. All these circumstances explain the peculiar responsibility that rests upon Government in India. If there be any one who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man. Art, and beauty, and the reverence that is owing to all that has evoked human genius, or has inspired human faith, are independent of creeds, and, in so far as they touch the sphere of religion, are embraced by the common religion of all mankind. Viewed from this standpoint, the rock temple of the Brahmins stands on precisely the same footing as the Buddhist Vihara, and the Muhammadan Musjid as the Christian Cathedral. There is no principle of artistic discrimination between the mausoleum of the despot and the sepulchre of the saint. What is beautiful, what is historic, what tears the mask off the face of the past, and helps us to read its riddles, and to look

it in the eyes—these, and not the dogmas of a combative theology, are the principal criteria to which we must look. Much of ancient history, even in an age of great discoveries, still remains mere guess work. It is only slowly being pieced together by the efforts of scholars and by the outcome of research. But the clues are lying everywhere at our hand, in buried cities, in undeciphered inscriptions, in casual coins, in crumbling pillars, and pencilled slabs of stone. They supply the data by which we may reconstruct the annals of the past, and recall to life the morality, the literature, the politics, the art of a perished age.

Compared with the antiquity of Assyrian or Egyptian, or even of early European monuments, the age of the majority of Indian monuments is not great. I speak subject to correction, but my impression is that the oldest sculptured monument in India is the Sanchi Tope, the great railing of which cannot possibly be placed before the middle of the third century before Christ, although the tope itself may be earlier. At that time the palaces of Chaldea and Ninevah, the Pyramids and the rock-tombs of Egypt, were already thousands of years old. We have no building in India as old as the Parthenon at Athens ; the large majority are young compared with the Coliseum at Rome. All the Norman and the majority of the Gothic Cathedrals of England and of Western Europe were already erected before the great era of Moslem architecture in India had begun. The Qutub Minar at Delhi, which is the finest early Muhammadan structure in this country, as built within a century of Westminster Hall in London, which we are far from regarding as an ancient monument. As for the later glories of Arabian architecture at Delhi, at Agra, and at Lahore, the Colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, which we regard in England as the last product of a dying architectural epoch, were already grey when they sprang, white and spotless, from the hands of the masons of Akbar and Shah Jahan ; while the Taj Mahal was only one generation older than Wren's Renaissance fabric of modern St. Paul's.

There is another remarkable feature of the majority of Indian antiquities—of those at any rate that belong to the Mussulman epoch—that they do not represent an indigenous genius or an Indian style. They are exotics, imported into this country in the train of conquerors, who had learnt their architectural lessons in Persia, in Central Asia, in Arabia, in Afghanistan. More than a thousand years earlier a foreign influence had exercised a scarcely less marked, though more transient, influence upon certain forms of Indian architecture. I allude to the Greek types which were derived from the Græco-Bactrian kingdoms, that were founded upon the remains of Alexander's conquests, and which in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era profoundly affected the art and sculpture of North-West India and the Punjab. Indian sculptures or Indian buildings, however, because they reflect a foreign influence, or betray a foreign origin, are not the less, but perhaps the more interesting to ourselves, who were borne to India upon the crest of a later but similar wave, and who may find in their non-Indian characteristics a reminiscence of forms which we already know in Europe, and of a process

of assimilation with which our own archæological history has rendered us familiar. Indeed a race like our own, who are themselves foreigners, are in a sense better fitted to guard, with a dispassionate and impartial zeal, the relics of different ages, and of sometimes antagonistic beliefs, than might be the descendants of the warring races or the votaries of the rival creeds. To us the relics of Hindu, and Muhammadan, of Buddhist, Brahmin, and Jain are, from the antiquarian, the historical, and the artistic point of view, equally interesting and equally sacred. One does not excite a more vivid, and the other a weaker emotion. Each represents the glories or the faith of a branch of the human family. Each fills a chapter in Indian history. Each is a part of the heritage which Providence has committed to the custody of the ruling power.

If, however, the majority of the structural monuments of India, the topes and temples, the palaces, and fortresses, and tombs, be of no exceeding antiquity in the chronology of architecture, and even if the greater number of those at any rate which are well known and visited, are not indigenous in origin, it remains true, on the other hand, that it is in the exploration and study of purely Indian remains, in the probing of archaic mounds, in the excavation of old Indian cities, and in the copying and reading of ancient inscriptions, that a good deal of the exploratory work of the archæologist in India will in future lie. The later pages of Indian history are known to us, and can be read by all. But a curtain of dark and romantic mystery hangs over the earlier chapters, of which we are only slowly beginning to lift the corners. This also is not less an obligation of Government. Epigraphy should not be set behind research any more than research should be set behind conservation. All are ordered parts of any scientific scheme of antiquarian work. I am not one of those who think that Government can afford to patronise the one and ignore the other. It is, in my judgment, equally our duty to dig and discover, to classify, reproduce, and describe, to copy and decipher, and to cherish and conserve. Of restoration I cannot, on the present occasion, undertake to speak, since the principles of legitimate and artistic restoration require a more detailed analysis than I have time to bestow upon them this evening. But it will be seen from what I have said that my view of the obligations of Government is not grudging, and that my estimate of the work to be done is ample.

If then the question be asked, how has the British Government hitherto discharged, and how is it now discharging its task, what is the answer that must be returned ? I may say in preface that were the answer unfavourable—and I will presently examine that point—we should merely be forging a fresh link in an unbroken historic chain. Every, or nearly every, successive religion that has permeated or overswept this country has vindicated its own fervour at the expense of the rival whom it had dethroned. When the Brahmins went to Ellora, they hacked away the features of all the seated Buddhas in the rock-chapels and halls. When Qutub-ud-din commenced, and Altamsh continued, the majestic mosque that flanks the Qutub Minar, it was with the spoil of Hindu temples that they reared

the fabric, carefully defacing or besmearing the sculptured Jain images, as they consecrated them to their novel purpose. What part of India did not bear witness to the ruthless vandalism of the great iconoclast Aurungzeb ? When we admire his great mosque with its tapering minarets, which are the chief feature of the river front at Benares, how many of us remember that he tore down the holy Hindu temple of Vishveshwar to furnish the material and to supply the site ? Nadir Shah during his short Indian inroad effected a greater spoliation than has probably ever been achieved in so brief a space of time. When the Mahratta conquerors overran Northern India, they pitilessly mutilated and wantonly destroyed. When Ranjit Singh built the Golden Temple at Amritsar, he ostentatiously rifled Muhammadan buildings and mosques. Nay, dynasties did not spare their own members, nor religions their own shrines. If a capital or fort or sanctuary was not completed in the life-time of the builder, there was small chance of its being finished, there was a very fair chance of its being despoiled, by his successor and heir. The environs of Delhi are a wilderness of deserted cities and devastated tombs. Each fresh conqueror, Hindu, or Mogul, or Pathan, marched, so to speak, to his own immortality over his predecessor's grave. The great Akbar in a more peaceful age first removed the seat of Government from Delhi to Agra, and then built Fatehpur Sikri as a new capital, only to be abandoned by his successor. Jahangir alternated between Delhi and Agra, but preferred Lahore to either. Shah Jahan beautified Agra, and then contemplated a final return to Delhi. Aurungzeb marched away to the south, and founded still another capital, and was himself buried in territories that now belong to Hyderabad. These successive changes, while they may have reflected little more than a despot's caprice, were yet inimical both to the completion and to the continuous existence of architectural fabrics. The British Government are fortunately exempt from any such promptings, either of religious fanaticism, of restless vanity, or of dynastic and personal pride. But in proportion as they have been unassailed by such temptations, so is their responsibility the greater for inaugurating a new era and for displaying that tolerant and enlightened respect to the treasures of all, which is one of the main lessons that the returning West has been able to teach to the East.

In the domain of archæology as elsewhere, the original example of duty has been set to the Government of India by individual effort and by private enthusiasm ; and only by slow degrees has Government, which is at all times and seasons a tardy learner, warmed to its task. The early archæological researches, conducted by the founders and pioneers of this Society, by Jones, Colebrooke, Wilson, and Prinsep, and by many another *clarum et venerabile nomen*, were in the main literary in character. They consisted in the reconstruction of alphabets, the translation of manuscripts, and the decipherment of inscriptions. Sanskrit scholarship was the academic cult of the hour. How these men laboured is illustrated by the fact that Prinsep and Kittoe both died of overwork at the age of 40. Then followed an era of research in buildings and monuments ; the pen was supplemented by the spade ; and, in succession, descriptions, drawings, paintings, engravings,

and in later days photographs and casts, gradually revealed to European eyes the precious contents of the unrifled quarries of Hindustan. In this generation of explorers and writers, special honour must be paid to two names ; to James Fergusson, whose earliest work was published in 1845, and who was the first to place the examination of Indian architecture upon a scholarly basis, and to General Sir A. Cunningham, who only a few years later was engaged in the first scientific excavation of the Bhilsa topes. These and other toilers in the same field laboured with a diligence beyond praise ; but the work was too great for individual exertion, and much of it remained desultory, fragmentary, and incomplete.

Meanwhile the Government of India was concerned with laying the foundations and extending the borders of a new Empire, and thought little of the relics of old ones. From time to time a Governor General, in an excess of exceptional enlightenment or generosity, spared a little money for the fitful repair of ancient monuments. Lord Minto appointed a Committee to conduct repairs at the Taj. Lord Hastings ordered works at Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra. Lord Amherst attempted some restoration of the Qutub Minar. Lord Hardinge persuaded the Court of Directors to sanction arrangements for the examination, delineation, and record of some of the chief Indian antiquities. But these spasmodic efforts resulted in little more than the collection of a few drawings, and the execution of a few local and perfunctory repairs. How little the leaven had permeated the lump, and how strongly the barbarian still dominated the aesthetic in the official mind, may be shown by incidents that from time to time occurred.

In the days of Lord William Bentinck the Taj was on the point of being destroyed for the value of its marbles. The same Governor General sold by auction the marble bath in Shah Jahan's palace at Agra, which had been torn up by Lord Hastings for a gift to George IV, but had somehow never been despatched. In the same régime a proposal was made to lease the gardens at Sikandra to the Executive Engineer at Agra for the purposes of speculative cultivation. In 1857, after the Mutiny, it was solemnly proposed to raze to the ground the Jumma Musjid at Delhi, the noblest ceremonial mosque in the world, and it was only spared at the instance of Sir John Lawrence. As late as 1868 the removal of the great gateways of the Sanchi Tope was successfully prevented by the same statesman. I have read of a great Muhammadan pillar, over 600 years old, which was demolished at Aligarh, to make room for certain municipal improvements and for the erection of some *bunias'* shops, which, when built, were never let. Some of the sculptured columns of the exquisite Hindu-Mussulman mosque at Ajmer were pulled down by a zealous officer to construct a triumphal arch under which the Viceroy of the day was to pass. James Fergusson's books sound one unending note of passionate protest against the barrack-builder, and the military engineer. I must confess that I think these individuals have been, and, within the more restricted scope now left to them, still are inveterate sinners. Climb the hilltop at Gwalior and see the barracks of the British soldier, and the relics, not yet entirely obli-

terated, of his occupation of the Palace in the Fort. Read in the Delhi Guide books of the horrors that have been perpetrated in the interests of regimental barracks and messes and canteens in the fairy-like pavilions and courts and gardens of Shah Jahan. It is not yet 30 years since the Government of India were invited by a number of army doctors to cut off the battlements of the Fort at Delhi in order to improve the health of the troops, and only desisted from doing so when a rival band of medical doctrinaires appeared upon the scene to urge the retention of the very same battlements, in order to prevent malarial fever from creeping in. At an earlier date, when picnic-parties were held in the garden of the Taj, it was not an uncommon thing for the revellers to arm themselves with hammer and chisel with which they wiled away the afternoon by chipping out fragments of agate and cornelian from the cenotaphs of the Emperor and his lamented Queen. Indeed, when I was at Agra the other day, I found that the marble tomb of Shah Jahan in the lower vault, beneath which his body actually lies, was still destitute of much of its original inlay, of which I ordered the restoration.

That the era of vandalism is not yet completely at an end is evident from recent experiences, among which I may include my own. When Fergusson wrote his book, the Diwan-i-Am, or Public Hall of Audience, in the Palace at Delhi, was a military arsenal, the outer colonnades of which had been built up with brick arches lighted by English windows. All this was afterwards removed. But when the Prince of Wales came to India in 1876, and held a Durbar in this building, the opportunity was too good to be lost ; and a fresh coat of whitewash was plentifully bespattered over the red sandstone pillars and plinths of the Durbar-hall of Aurungzeb. This too I hope to get removed. When His Royal Highness was at Agra, and the various pavilions of Shah Jahan's palace were connected together for the purposes of an evening party and ball, local talent was called in to reproduce the faded paintings on marble and plaster of the Mogul artists two and a half centuries before. The result of their labours is still an eyesore and a regret. When I was at Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little Moti Musjid, or Pearl Mosque, in the Fort, which was erected by Jahangir exactly three hundred years ago, still used for the profane purpose to which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, *viz.*, as a Government Treasury. The arches were built up with brick-work, and below the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron-bound chests of rupees. I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful little building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore has ever seen. Ranjit Singh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Muhammadan predecessors, and half a century of British military occupation, with its universal paintpot, and the exigencies of the Public Works Engineer, has assisted the melancholy decline. Fortunately in recent years something has been done to rescue the main buildings of the Mogul Palace from these two insatiable enemies. At Ahmedabad I found the mosque of Sidi Sayid, the pierced stone lattice-work of whose demi-lune windows is one of the glories of India, used as a tehsildar's kutcherry, and disfigured with plaster partitions, and the omnivorous

whitewash. I hope to effect the re-conversion of this building. After the conquest of Upper Burma in 1885, the Palace of the Kings at Mandalay which although built for the most part of wood, is yet a noble specimen of Burmese art, was converted by our conquering battalions into a Club House, a Government Office, and a Church. By degrees I am engaged in removing these superfluous denizens, with the idea of preserving the building as the monument, not of a dynasty that has vanished never to return, but of an art that, subject to the vicissitudes of fire, earthquake, and decay, is capable of being a joy for ever. There are other sites and fabrics in India upon which I also have my eye, which I shall visit, if possible, during my time and which I shall hope to rescue from a kindred or a worse fate.

These are the gloomy or regrettable features of the picture. On the other hand, there has been, during the last 40 years, some sort of sustained effort on the part of Government to recognize its responsibilities and to purge itself of a well-merited reproach. This attempt has been accompanied, and sometimes delayed, by disputes as to the rival claims of research and of conservation, and by discussion over the legitimate spheres of action of the Central and the Local Governments. There have been periods of supineness as well as of activity. There have been moments when it has been argued that the State had exhausted its duty or that it possessed no duty at all. There have been persons who thought that when all the chief monuments were indexed and classified, we might sit down with folded hands and allow them slowly and gracefully to crumble into ruin. There have been others who argued that railways and irrigation did not leave even a modest $\frac{1}{2}$ lakh of rupees per annum for the requisite establishment to supervise the most glorious galaxy of monuments in the world. Nevertheless, with these interruptions and exceptions, which I hope may never again recur, the progress has been positive, and, on the whole, continuous. It was Lord Canning who first invested archaeological work in this country with permanent Government patronage by constituting in 1860 the Archaeological Survey of Northern India and by appointing General Cunningham in 1862 to be Archaeological Surveyor to Government. From that period date the publications of the Archaeological Survey of India, which have at times assumed different forms, and which represent varying degrees of scholarship and merit, but which constitute, on the whole, a noble mine of information, in which the student has but to delve in order to discover an abundant spoil. For over 20 years General Cunningham continued his labours, of which these publications are the memorial. Meanwhile orders were issued for the registration and preservation of historical monuments throughout India, local surveys were started in some of the subordinate Governments, the Bombay Survey being placed in the capable hands of Mr. Burgess, who was a worthy follower in the footsteps of Cunningham, and who ultimately succeeded him as Director General of the Archaeological Survey. Some of the Native States followed the example thus set to them, and either applied for the services of the Government archaeologists, or established small departments of their own.

In the provinces much depended upon the individual tastes or proclivities of the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, just as at head-quarters the strength of the impetus varied with the attitude of successive Viceroys. Lord Northbrook, who was always a generous patron of the arts, issued orders in 1873 as to the duties of Local Governments ; and in his Viceroyalty, Sir John Strachey was the first Lieutenant-Governor to undertake a really noble work of renovation and repair at Agra—a service which is fitly commemorated by a marble slab in the Palace of Shah Jahan. The poetic and imaginative temperament of Lord Lytton could not be deaf to a similar appeal. Holding that no claim upon the initiative and resources of the Supreme Government was more essentially Imperial than the preservation of national antiquities, he contributed in 1879 a sum of 3½ lakhs to the restoration of buildings in the North-West Provinces ; and proposed the appointment of a special officer, to be entitled the Curator of Ancient Monuments, which, while it did not receive sanction in his time, was left to be carried out by his successor, Lord Ripon. During the three years that Major Cole held this post from 1880 to 1883, much excellent work in respect both of reports and classification was done, and large sums of money were given by the Government of India, *inter alia*, for repairs in the Gwalior Fort and at Sanchi Tope. But at the end of this time succeeded a period of some reaction, in which it appeared to be thought that the task of the Central Government, in the preparation of surveys and lists, was drawing to a close, and that Local Governments might, in future, be safely entrusted with the more modest, but, I may add, not less critical, duty of conservation. More recently, under Lord Elgin's auspices, the archaeological work of Government has been placed upon a more definite basis. The entire country has been divided into a number of circles, each with a surveyor of its own, and while the establishment is regarded as an Imperial charge, the work is placed under local control and receives such financial backing as the resources of the Local Governments or the sympathies of individual Governors may be able to give it. In the North-West Provinces, where I was recently touring, I found Sir A. MacDonnell worthily sustaining, in point of generous and discriminating sympathy, the traditions that were created by Sir John Strachey.

For my part I feel far from clear that Government might not do a good deal more than it is now doing, or than it has hitherto consented to do. I certainly cannot look forward to a time at which either the obligations of the State will have become exhausted, or at which archaeological research and conservation in this country can dispense with Government direction and control. I see fruitful fields of labour still unexplored, bad blunders still to be corrected, gaping omissions to be supplied, plentiful opportunities for patient renovation and scholarly research. In my opinion, the tax-payers of this country are in the last degree unlikely to resent a somewhat higher expenditure—and, after all, a few thousand rupees go a long way in archaeological work, and the total outlay is exceedingly small—upon objects in which I believe them to be as keenly interested as we are ourselves. I hope to assert more definitely during my time the Imperial

responsibility of Government in respect of Indian antiquities, to inaugurate or to persuade a more liberal attitude on the part of those with whom it rests to provide the means, and to be a faithful guardian of the priceless treasure-house of art and learning that has, for a few years at any rate, been committed to my charge.

4. Speech (Extract) at Bijapur, 10th November 1900.

In your interesting and well composed address you correctly surmise that it is the desire to see the remains of the bygone glories of Bijapur that has brought me to this place ; and you suggest with much tact that it can only have been the difficulty of determining what to see where so much was worthy to be seen that deterred my predecessors without exception from coming to see anything at all. I know of nothing in the wonderful history of India more astonishing or more sad than the written and the standing records of the Muhammadan dynasty of Bijapur. Founded by a Turk who was born in Europe, it enjoyed a short lived but brilliant existence of less than 200 years, and then fell before that prince of devastators—Aurungzeb. While it still lasted, the buildings were raised, in one of which I am now speaking, which are unrivalled even in India, and which make Bijapur to the Deccan what Delhi and Agra are to the northern provinces. Each King spent his lifetime in erecting his own tomb, feeling, I suppose, an insufficient confidence in the respect that might be entertained for him by his successors ; and the united dynasty, having perished out of existence, left this extraordinary collection of remains, to serve as a monument to all time of its own brief grandeur and of the fleeting character of human fortunes. I wish that I could extract any sort of philosophy from the manner in which, since Bijapur passed into British hands, we have discharged our responsibility as heirs of the Adil Shabs. A laudable anxiety was entertained for the preservation of so remarkable a body of ruins ; but this appears to have been accompanied by a lack of taste as monumental as the ruins themselves, by a utilitarianism that makes one shudder, and by feats of desecration from which even a Goth would have shrunk. This was some time ago. Fortunately we now live in a rather less Vandalistic era. Some reparation has been made for the errors of the past ; and one of my objects in coming here to-day has been to see whether the amendment can be carried any further.

5. Speech (Extract) at Mandalay, 28th November 1901.

There is another respect in which I beg of you not to be diverted from your old practices. You have, as I have said, a venerable and a famous religion

whose relics are scattered throughout the East and whose temples are among the beauties of the Oriental world. But it is of no use to build pagodas unless you maintain them, and a powerful and popular religion is not well represented by crumbling and dilapidated shrines. Similar thoughts are suggested by your art and your architecture, once so fanciful, so ingenious, and so picturesque, but now in grave danger of being undermined. The main reason for which I order the preservation and restoration of the building in a part of which I am now speaking, is that a model of the ceremonial architecture of this country might survive ; for I felt certain that, if it disappeared, as before long it would otherwise tend to do, its place would never be taken by anything similar in design or structure, but, if at all, by something new, and in all probability hideous. If, however, your art and your architecture, your delicate wood carving, your silver work and lacquer work and painting, are to survive, they cannot be fostered by external patronage alone : they must rest upon the unprostituted tastes and traditions of the nation, and upon the continued support of your own selves. My concluding words, therefore, to the Burmans to-day are these—keep that which is best in your religious faith, in your national character and traditions, and in the pursuits and accomplishments of your race. The most loyal subject of the King Emperor in Burma, the Burman whom I would most like to honour, is not the cleverest mimic of a European, but the man who is truest to all that is most simple, most dutiful, and of best repute in the instincts and the customs of an ancient and attractive people.

6. *Speech at Malda, 24th February 1902.*

I am greatly obliged to you for your hearty welcome. My object in coming here is, as you have correctly inferred, to see the famous ruins of Gaur and Pandua. Who would now believe that an Afghan dynasty once ruled for some centuries in Bengal ? Their name, and even their memory, have faded from the minds of men, and there remains only the melancholy epitaph of the ruined buildings, which I am about to visit in pursuance of a desire to see, while I am in India, as many as possible of the monuments of the past, which it should be a duty of the Government, where practicable, to cherish and conserve. At Gaur, one can penetrate into an even remoter past, for there was an old Hindu seat of rule before the Muhammadans had been heard of in the land. I fear that I cannot claim the distinction, which you have accorded me in your address, of being the first Governor-General to visit this place, for I was reading the other day the journal of Lord Hastings, then Lord Moira, and I found that, in the same month of February in 1817, he visited the ruins of Gaur, of which he did not carry away a very favourable impression, and halted on the way at English Bazar, the very spot where I am now staying, and where, more than 200 years ago, was erected

the Factory of the Honourable East India Company that was pointed out to me just now as I drove in. I feel hopeful that the reception that you have accorded to me will induce some one of my successors, before another 85 years have passed, to repeat the experiment.

7. Speech (Extract) at Ajmer, 18th November 1902.

You have spoken with sympathy of the very considerable works of archæological restoration in this place which I ordered on the occasion of my former visit. I have been fortunate in finding a most faithful and enthusiastic instrument for their execution in the person of your Commissioner, Mr. Tucker, and I am about to inspect the results of his labours during my present stay in Ajmer. When I was here before, the Anasagar Lake had not a drop of water in it ; the marble embankment had been disfigured, partly by vandalism, partly by decay ; and the buildings upon it had either been converted into European dwelling-houses or were in ruins. Now we have restored all these beauties as far as possible to their pristine state, and Shah Jahan's "Garden of Splendour," with its marble terrace and fairy pavilions, shining reflected in the waters, once more deserves, at least to some extent, its ancient name. We have also done a good deal for the proper preservation of the exquisite Arhai-din-ka Jhompra Mosque ; and if our restorations have not been accomplished within the "Two and a half days," which are supposed in the legend to have sufficed for the original erection of the building, I hope we may urge that, though doubtless less skilful, we have also shown ourselves less hurried, workmen than our predecessors. The policy of archæological conservation and restoration with which I charged myself soon after I came to India is now, I am glad to say, bearing its first-fruits in all parts of the country : and when the time comes for me to go, I not only hope that the Government of India may be able to point to good work already achieved, but that the principle of State responsibility, State interest, and State outlay on these objects may have taken such deep root that never again will it be ignored. India not only possesses what is in my opinion by far the most wonderful and varied collection of ancient monuments in the world : I want them also to be the best looked after, the most respectfully handled, the most tenderly restored. One of the first duties of the present is reverence for whatever was beautiful or noble in the past.

8. Speech in Legislative Council on Ancient Monuments Bill, 18th March 1904.

In a session which embraces a good deal of contentious business, it will, I think, be a pleasure to all of us to pass into law a Bill which has been received without

a discordant note by all classes of the community, to which no one has come forward to move an amendment, and which will presently take its place, to use the classical phrase, *nemine contradissete*, on the Statute book. The principle of the Bill is the sound, and, as I think, irrefragable, proposition that a nation is interested in its antiquities—an interest which is based on grounds alike of history, sentiment, and expediency, and that it is reasonable and proper to give statutory sanction to the maintenance of this principle by the State. In the somewhat frigid language of the Preamble, the object of the measure, more specifically stated, is "to provide for the preservation of ancient monuments, for the exercise of control over traffic in antiquities, and over excavation, and for the protection and acquisition of ancient monuments and of objects of archæological, historical, or artistic interest." In pursuing these ends we have endeavoured, as far as possible, to enlist private co-operation, to exercise the minimum of interference with the rights of property, to ensure a fair price in the event of compulsory purchase, and to pay most scrupulous deference to religious feelings or family associations. The Bill will require to be administered with sympathy and discretion. But I trust the awakened conscience of all sections of the community in respect of our duty to the past to save us from friction or trouble, and I believe myself that private effort will gladly combine with Government for the furtherance of objects in which both are equally concerned. For the individual owner is as much the trustee for his particular archæological possession as the Government is the general trustee on behalf of the nation at large.

The Bill is, however, even more than its stipulation simply. It is in reality the coping-stone of a policy in respect of archæology and the remains of the past which the Government of India have pursued, with fits and starts, throughout the past half century, but with sustained and unremitting ardour during the past few years. I had been in India more than once as an ordinary traveller before I came out as Viceroy, and had observed the state of its antiquities with pain and regret. Fresh as I then was from my University days, I remember thinking how pertinent to India and to my countrymen in India, were the words of reproach in which the Roman poet, Horace, had addressed his countrymen in what he thought the decadent and indifferent days of the early Empire : and at the risk of being so unfashionable as to quote a language which is said to be now tabooed in public life, I must cite the passage—

Delicta majorum immeritus lues,
Romane, donec templa refeceris,
Ædesque labentes deorum, et
Fœda nigro simulacra fumo.

In India it was not so much a case of recovering the favour of the gods—for our theology is not quite the same as that of the Romans—as it was of expiating the carelessness of the past, and escaping the reproaches of posterity. But the obligation was just as strong and urgent ; and this Council, while giving the

authority of law by its vote of to-day to the culminating phase, may like to hear something of the manner in which we have interpreted its remaining injunctions.

It seemed to me, when I began to enquire exhaustively into the matter five years ago, that the Government of India had made three mistakes. In the first place, they had not recognized that any obligation lay upon them. They had devolved it entirely upon Local Governments, leaving to the latter to spend much or little or nothing at all, and contenting themselves with paying for an inadequate supervisory staff. Secondly, they had set no standard to which Local Governments ought to conform. There was neither co-ordination, nor system, nor control. In one province an enthusiastic administrator might do his duty by the archaeological treasures temporarily committed to his care. In another, there was no idea that archaeology existed as a science, or, if it did, that Government had anything to do with the matter. The third mistake was that conservation, or the task of preserving the memorable relics that we still possess, had been forgotten in the task of research for those that no longer exist, or of writing about objects that were fast falling into decay. Our first step, accordingly, was to revive the post of Director General which had been in abeyance since 1889, and to procure a competent person to fill it. The next was to set an example to Local Governments, which we undertook to do by the grant of sums aggregating one lakh a year, to supplement the local expenditure of which their own funds might permit. The third step was to stimulate them and the Native States also to renewed efforts by a definite programme of conservation and repair. By the end of 1900 our proposals had gone home to the Secretary of State. A year later his answer was received, and a Director General, Mr. Marshall, who has since thrown himself with scholarly energy and enthusiasm into his task, was on his way out to India; and in February 1902 we were in a position to publish a Resolution in the Gazette, defining our policy, and foreshadowing the programme of work that lay before us, as well as the legislation which we are carrying to completion to-day. Two years have passed since that date, and the new system is now firmly established, and has already justified itself by its fruits. I can, perhaps, best bring home to this Council the extent to which we have advanced by giving the concrete figures of then and now. In the year 1898-99, the total expenditure of the Government of India upon archaeology was less than £3,000, and this was almost exclusively devoted to salaries; the total expenditure of all the Local Governments added together was only about £4,000 in the same year. A sum, therefore, of £7,000 per annum represented the total contribution of the Government of 300 millions of people towards the study or preservation of the most beautiful and valuable collection of ancient monuments in the Eastern world. The Government of India is now spending upon this object $2\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs per annum, and the Local Governments 3 lakhs per annum, or a total of some £37,000 a year. Thus, not little by little, but by leaps and bounds, are we catching up the errors of the past, and purging our national reputation of this great stain.

It is given to but few to realise, except from books and illustrations, what the archæological treasures of India are. I know of Civilians who have spent a lifetime in the country without ever seeing Agra, and who make a pilgrimage to visit it when their 35 years are done. A Governor General's tours give him a unique chance, and I should have been unworthy of the task which I undertook at the first meeting of the Asiatic Society that I attended in Calcutta five years ago, had I not utilised these opportunities to visit all the great remains or groups of remains with which this country is studded from one end to the other. As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them, but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair.

Our labour may be said to have fallen into four main categories. First, there are the buildings which demanded a sustained policy of restoration or conservation, with most diligent attention to the designs of their original architects, so as to restore nothing that had not already existed, and to put up nothing absolutely new. For it is a cardinal principle that new work in restoration must be not only a reproduction of old work, but a part of it, only reintroduced in order to repair or to restore symmetry to the old. Of such a character has been our work at all the great centres of what is commonly known as the Indo-Saracenic style. We have, wherever this was possible, recovered and renovated the dwellings in life and the resting-places in death of those master builders, the Mussulman Emperors and Kings.

The Taj itself and all its surroundings are now all but free from the workmen's hands. It is no longer approached through dusty wastes and a squalid bazar. A beautiful park takes their place; and the group of mosques and tombs, the arcaded streets and grassy courts, that precede the main building, are once more as nearly as possible what they were when completed by the masons of Shah Jahan. Every building in the garden enclosure of the Taj has been scrupulously repaired, and the discovery of old plans has enabled us to restore the water channels and flower beds of the garden more exactly to their original state. We have done the same with the remaining buildings at Agra. The exquisite mausoleum of Itmad-ud-Daulah, the tile-enamelled gem of Chini-ka-Roza, the succession of Mogul palaces in the Fort, the noble city of Akbar at Fatehpur Sikri, his noble tomb at Sikandra,—all of these have been taken in hand. Slowly they have emerged from decay and in some cases desolation, to their original perfection of form and detail: the old gardens have been restored, the old watercourses cleared out, the old balustrades renovated, the chiselled bas-reliefs repaired, and the inlaid agate, jasper, and cornelian replaced. The skilled workmen of Agra have lent themselves to the enterprise with as much zeal and taste as their forerunners 300 years ago. I have had there the assistants of two large-minded and cultured Lieutenant-Governors in the persons of Sir Antony MacDonnell and Sir James LaTouche. Since I came to India we have spent upon repairs at Agra alone a sum of between £40,000 and £50,000. Every rupee has been an offering of rever-

ence to the past and a gift of recovered beauty to the future ; and I do not believe that there is a taxpayer in this country who will grudge one anna of the outlay. It will take some three or four years more to complete the task, and then Agra will be given back to the world, a pearl of great price.

At Delhi and Lahore we have attempted, or are attempting, the same. The Emperor Jahangir no longer lies in a neglected tomb at Shahdara : his grandfather, Humayun, is once again honoured at Delhi. The Military authorities have agreed to evacuate all the principal Mogul buildings in the Delhi Fort, and the gardens and halls of the Emperors will soon recall their former selves. I might take you down to Rajputana and show you the restored bund along the Anasagar Lake. There a deserted stone embankment survived, but the marble pavilions on it had tumbled down, or been converted into modern residences. Now they stand up again in their peerless simplicity, and are reflected in the waters below. I might bring you much nearer home to Gaur and Pandua in this province of Bengal, in the restoration of which I received the enthusiastic co-operation of the late Sir John Woodburn. A hundred and twenty years ago the tombs of the Afghan Kings at Gaur were within an ace of being despoiled to provide paving stones for St. John's Church in Calcutta. Only a few years back these wonderful remains were smothered in jungle from which they literally had to be cut free. If the public were fully aware of what has been done, Malda, near to which they are situated, would be an object of constant excursion from this place. We have similarly restored the Hindu temples of Bhubaneswar near Cuttack, and the palace and temples on the rock-fortress of Rhotasgarh. At the other end of India I might conduct you to the stupendous ruins of the great Hindu capital of Vijayanagar, one of the most astonishing monuments to perished greatness, or to Bijapur, where an equally vanished Muhammadan dynasty left memorials scarcely less enduring. If I had more time to-day, I might ask you to accept my guidance to the delicate marble traceries of the Jain temples on Mount Abu, or the more stately proportions of the mosques at Jaunpur—both of which we are saving from the neglect that was already bringing portions of them to the ground : or I might take you across the Bay of Bengal to Burma, and show you King Mindon's Fort and Palace at Mandalay with their timbered halls and pavilions, which we are carefully preserving as a sample of the ceremonial and domestic architecture of the Burmese Kings.

A second aspect of our work has been the recovery of buildings from profane or sacrilegious uses, and their restitution either to the faith of their founders or at least to safe custody as protected monuments. Here we have a good record. The exquisite little mosque of Sidi Sayid at Ahmedabad with the famous windows of pierced sandstone, which I found used as a tehsildar's kutcherry when first I went there, is once more cleared and intact. The Moti Musjid in the Palace at Lahore, into which I gained entrance with difficulty because the treasury was kept there in chests beneath the floor, and which was surrounded with a brick wall and

iron gates, and guarded by sentries, is once more free. The Chhoti Khwabagh in the Fort is no longer a church, the Diwan-i-Am is no longer a barrack, the lovely tiled Dai Anga Mosque near the Lahore Railway station has ceased to be the Office of a Traffic Superintendent of the North Western Railway, and has been restored to the Muhammadan community. At Bijapur I succeeded in expelling a Dâk Bungalow from one mosque, the relics of a British Post Office from another. The mosque in the celebrated fort at Vellore in Madras is no longer tenanted by a Police Instructor. The superb *mantapam* or Hindu temple in the same fort is now scrupulously cared for. A hundred years ago the East India Company presented it to George IV, when Prince-Regent, for erection in the grounds of the Pavilion at Brighton, and only failed to carry out their design, because the ship, which had been chartered for the purpose, very happily went to the bottom. Next it was used as an arsenal, and finally Commissariat bullocks were tethered to its pillars. At Lucknow I recovered a mosque which had been used for years as a dispensary. At Ahmedabad I have already mentioned that the marble *baradari* on the bund is no longer dining-room of the Commissioner's House. At Mandalay the Church and the Club are under notice of removal from the gilded throne-rooms of the Burmese Sovereigns.

In this policy, which I have so far described in relation to monuments in British territory, I have received the most cordial support from the Indian Princes in their own States. The Nizam of Hyderabad was willing to do all that I asked him—I only wish that it had been a quarter of a century earlier—for the unique Caves of Ajunta and Ellora. He undertook the cataloguing and conservation of a most interesting collection of old china, copper ware, and carpets that had been lying neglected for centuries at Aurungabad in the tomb of the wife of the Emperor Aurungzeb. The Maharana of Udaipur has willingly undertaken the restoration of the exquisite Towers of Fame and Victory on the hill fort of Chitor, one of which could hardly have survived for many more years. The Maharaja Scindia threw himself with characteristic zeal into similar works in his magnificent fortress at Gwalior. The Begum of Bhopal did all that was required at the Sanchi Tope. Finally, there stands in the remote State of Dhar the huge rock-fortress of Mandu, certainly one of the most amazing natural spectacles in the world. Rising to a height of 1,500-feet above the Nerbudda plain, it carries upon its summit, which is 30 miles round, a splendid group of deserted Muhammadan fortifications, palaces, and tombs. These we are assisting the State, which is not rich enough to assume entire responsibility itself, to place in order. They were fast perishing, victims to the ravages of the jungle, and to unchallenged decay.

There is yet another aspect of the work of conservation to which I hope that the Bill that we are about to pass will lend a helping hand. This is the custody in collections or museums of rare or interesting objects that have either been torn from their surroundings or whose surroundings have disappeared. Hon'ble Members will be familiar with the larger museums in the capital cities of India,

where are collections not without value, but, as a rule, sorely mutilated, often unidentified and uncatalogued, and sometimes abominably arranged. The plan has hitherto been to snatch up any sculptured fragment in a Province or Presidency, and send it off to the provincial museum. This seemed to me, when I looked into it, to be all wrong. Objects of archæological interest can best be studied in relation and in close proximity to the group and style of buildings to which they belong, presuming that these are of a character and in a locality that will attract visitors. Otherwise if transferred elsewhere, they lose focus, and are apt to become meaningless. Accordingly we have started the plan of a number of local museums, in places of the nature that I have described. I may instance Malda in Bengal, Pagan in Burma, the Taj at Agra, Bijapur in Bombay, and Peshawar, as localities where these institutions are being called into being, and I hope that in future any local fragments that may be discovered in the neighbourhood of such places instead of being stolen, packed off, or destroyed, will find their way into these minor collections. Of course the larger provincial museums will continue to attract all classes of objects that do not easily find a local habitation.

These remarks will, I hope, give to Hon'ble Members an idea of the scientific and steadfast policy upon which the Government has embarked in respect of archæology, and which they are invited to assist by passing this Bill to-day.

By rendering this assistance all will join in paying the debt which each of us owes to the poets, the artists, and the creators of the past. What they originated, we can but restore ; where they imagined, we can but rescue from ruin. But the task, though humble, is worthy ; and the duty, though late, is incumbent. A hundred and thirty years ago Samuel Johnson in England used to keep up a correspondence with Warren Hastings in Bengal, and in one of his letters the philosopher thus addressed the Governor General—"I hope that you will examine nicely the traditions and histories of the East, that you will survey the corridors of its ancient edifices, and trace the vestiges of its ruined cities, and that, on your return, we shall know the arts and opinions of a race of men from whom very little has hitherto been derived." It is in this spirit that my archæological coadjutors and I have worked. All know that there is beauty in India in abundance. I like to think that there is reverence also : and that amid our struggles over the present we can join hands in pious respect for the past. I like to think, too, that this spirit will survive, and that the efforts of which I have been speaking will not slacken in the hands of our successors until India can boast that her memorials are as tenderly prized as they are precious, and as carefully guarded as they are already, and will in the future be even more, widely known.

9. Speech (Extract) at Agra, dated 11th November 1905.

My own connection with Agra has, as you know, been mainly archæological during the past six years. I think that in my numerous visits here and in the labours of renovation and repair that we have undertaken, I have learned to love this place more than any other spot in India. Here it is always peaceful and always beautiful, though sometimes, I must admit, a little warm ; and with each successive visit I have felt the sense of something accomplished and of visible progress made. This has been due to the enthusiasm with which the Lieutenant-Governor, the local officials, the Public Works Engineers, and the Director General of Archæology, Mr. Marshall, and his subordinates have all thrown themselves into the task. To every one of them it has, I am convinced, been a labour of love, and all of us have felt that we were not merely atoning for the errors of our predecessors, but leaving something that will recover or increase the fascinations of Agra for those who come after us.

It is just 18 years since I first drove up to the Taj through dusty lanes and a miserable bazar ; since I first was conducted over the fort, where the Jahangir Mahal and the exquisite buildings anterior to the time of Shah Jahan were either in the occupation of the Military or were not shown to visitors at all, and since I visited Sikandra, then a deserted wilderness, and Fatehpur Sikri, glorious in its beauty, but crumbling to decay. As I visit all these places again, and note their renovated condition, their orderly approaches, and the spirit of reverence with which they are now preserved, I cannot help feeling that the work is one of which we may feel proud. There is this also to be said about the work of archæological restoration throughout India, that it is one in which European and Indian can and do equally join. There is nothing to which the inhabitants of this country are more attached than their antiquities ; there is nothing by which they were more distressed than their desecration and decay ; and few things, I am convinced, have done more to bring the two peoples together than the consciousness that the English are devoting themselves with sincerity and ardour to the restoration of the monuments of a race and a religion which are not their own but for which they feel the most profound respect and veneration. No co-operation of this description is to be despised, for it has a value greatly in excess of its immediate or concrete results.

10. Speech (Extract) to Delhi Municipality, dated 13th November 1905.

Your remarks have related principally to archæology, and to the many occasions on which I have been drawn to Delhi during the past six years in connection with antiquarian or other work. You are right in saying that I have taken a great

interest in the place, because of its imperial traditions and the beauty of its remains. You have particularly alluded to the restorations and repairs that have been undertaken in the shrines and tombs outside the city, principally those of Humayun, Saifdar Jang, Isa Khan, and Nizam-ud-din. I like to think that these famous men of the past still have their last resting-places properly tended, and further that buildings so noble and surroundings so gracious and fair are not allowed to fall into decay by the apathy or slovenliness of later generations. In the Fort a great deal more remains to be done. A considerable portion of the garrison is to be moved outside the city ; and I hope we shall thus gradually get rid of those monstrous barracks which are now such an eyesore and offence. We are at present engaged in restoring the Palace-gardens of the Mogul Emperors of which the pavilions and watercourses still exist, or can be reproduced. I have, as you know, brought out a Florentine artificer in mosaics to replace the marble incrustations at the back of the Throne, and I hope that a few years hence the interior of the Fort may present some slight resemblance—it cannot, I fear, be more, for so much has perished irretrievably—to what it was, not in the later days of the Moguls, when the moribund condition of the Empire was typified in the squalor and decay of the Court, but in the resplendent times of Shah Jahan and Aurungzeb. When the interior of the Fort has been renovated, I have always hoped that the artificial glacis outside, which was thrown up for defensive purposes after the Mutiny, may be removed, and that the magnificent red walls may then be seen to their base as they were up till 50 years ago.

VIII.—MISCELLANEOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

1. Letter from M. Emile Hovelaque, dated 15th March 1899, on restoration of Ancient Monuments in India.

I enclose a brief note for His Excellency. I think it sufficient simply to indicate one or two typical example of the vandalism which prevails throughout India. Archæologists unfortunately rarely possess an artistic sense, and Indian ones are certainly no exception. But the general principles relating to the preservation of historical monuments are sufficiently known by this time. Some agreement ought, therefore, to be come to easily, some general rules laid down by common consent for the guidance of engineers and municipalities. The general ignorance of both, and the destruction worked as much (or even more) by their mistaken zeal as by their neglect, have filled me, I must confess, with extreme indignation. My testimony might seem prejudiced. I can only refer you to what Fergusson, in his Indian Architecture, says about the Forts of Delhi and Agra. His language is stronger than any I should dare to use. Unless the English are to pass as the master vandals of Indian rulers, something ought to be done, and rapidly. There seems no other way than the stringent enforcement of the rules prevailing, e.g., in the *Commission des Monuments Historiques* of France—a State Board as you know—or the similar institutions in Italy. I will send you the little *brochure* I wrote about the Versailles restorations as soon as I can get a copy out. In the 3rd Article I have endeavoured, after conversations with Anatole France, Jules Lemaitre, Barrès, Puvis de Chavannes, Dalon, etc., to sum up the general aesthetic principles which should be respected by architects and engineers when they have to do with beautiful or significative work of the past.

If you can give me any letter for Burma, I shall be much obliged. It sometimes facilitates matters, and as I was not sure of going there, I asked for none.

Enclosure of No. 1 : The Note.

There is singularly little artistic work of the highest order still left in India, for each style after attaining excellence, degenerated with extreme rapidity. Besides, no country has been exposed to more systematic destruction of its artistic monuments, or greater vandalism. This vandalism is now organised most admirably, and is extremely effective under the name

of " Restoration " in destroying the beauty, veracity, and significance of Indian buildings. One or two examples will suffice to show this :—

I.—Unnecessary, costly, and impossible restorations.

(a) *Diwan-i-Khas and adjacent buildings, Fort Delhi.*

The decorative foliage running round the ceiling is being repainted, most vilely. The scheme of colour, formerly masculine reds and blues, sombre, like old Japanese enamels, is demonstrably wrong, and wears with the *pietra dura* incrustation below, of which it was a " rappel." The whole place is being regilded ; the old gold was " sequin gold " ; the modern looks like Judson's Fluid. There are now two distinct dates on the building, Shah Jahan's 250 years old, and the English 5 or 6. The English is the most prominent. Either the building is old, and, if so, should look old and not mendaciously new : or, if a new-looking building is required, it had better be built elsewhere and not at Shah Jahan's expense. As it stands, it is incoherent, is historically a lie, and in parts æsthetically an offence. Such tinkering up would have to be repeated every 30 years, for the materials are vile, until from successive paintings, scrapings, restorations, not a vestige of the genuine and inestimable old work would be left. *No one* can repaint the ceiling : the man now at work upon it is an unutterably bad workman : his work tremulous, hesitating, and gaudy, positively sets one's teeth on edge.

I must also put in a plea for the Khas Mahal, Fort, Agra. On the marble walls there are some of the most beautiful paintings of separate flowers, anemones, tulips, peonies, roses, etc., in the world, almost effaced in some cases, but most exquisite still. They are absolutely unique in India, for they betray that rarest of things out here, the hand of an *individual* artist of the highest possible gifts and extreme delicacy of perception : the grace, languor, or nobility of flower attitudes, the splendour or candour of their open blossoms, have never been more exquisitely expressed. I do hope these may be preserved from a threatened restoration already begun elsewhere. It would be an eternal scandal for them to be touched.

(b) *Akbar's most noted Tomb at Sikandra near Agra.*

Rs. 2,500 have been expended in repainting—regilding part of the vault. If completed I should estimate the total cost of restoration at Rs. 50,000 or 60,000. The work is insufferably vile, the most beautiful dim old vault ruined : Akbar does not deserve his taste should be slandered by having such trash attributed to him. It is the taste, not of Akbar, but of an engineer brought up on German chromolithographs.

And while Rs. 2,500 is spent on desecrating the vault, the north-east angle pavilion second story, is held up by gross masonry of bricks, hideous, whereas a new shaft could have been placed where the old one failed, for the shaft is plain and any man could make it.

(c) *Throughout India*, buildings were whitewashed or gilded, e.g., the Diwan-i-Am Fort, Agra, utterly spoilt for the reception of the Prince of Wales, the carvings choked and outlines blunted. The magnificent red sandstone should be laid bare again, or, at any rate, no more money should be spent in thus disfiguring it. (An abiding testimony to English taste is the abominable classical building erected at Oodeypore, in the middle of the delicate old Rajput Architecture, for the Prince of Wales ; but this is a parenthesis).

II.—Cheap and necessary means of preserving monuments neglected.

The examples of this are too numerous to be quoted. One may suffice. The great flight of steps leading to the Gate of the Mosque at Fatehpur' Sikri, the noblest portal in India,

falls away to rubble a dozen steps down, and one breaks one's neck in scrambling over it. Yet plain flags abound in Fatehpur : a few dozen could be laid down for a small sum and the entrance made worthy of the gate. But large sums are preferably spent in filling, e.g., the windows of the Jasmine Tower, Agra, with new marble tracery, heavy, insensitive, utterly mechanical—see the iris and lily tracery over the southern door, Jasmine Tower, looking towards the Hindu Queen's Palace and Fort for instance. What has been done at Bijapur is enough to make anyone howl. (I trust Your Excellency will excuse my language if you read this : I have unfortunately no time to rewrite these hurried notes.) I must put in a word for the Gandhara sculptures. Noble fragments are kicking about all over the Peshawar District in compounds and clubs ; worthless repetitions are carefully hoarded up in Museums. Some man of taste, at once an archaeologist and an artist, ought to sort these out once for all. In a general way, hardly any Indian Museum is full or significative ; all are incoherent and betray great carelessness, ignorance, or one-sided development.

At Delhi the Museum is a howling wilderness that would shame by its dirt, neglect, and incoherence any village : the tickets are upside down, filthy ; and beautiful things jumbled up anyhow with refuse. It is a thing to be seen and wondered at. As for the Fort, Delhi—well, Fergusson had better be read on that : all other comment is superfluous.

It is all the more sad to see Indian things drifting to ruins everywhere, that very large sums are spent by Government in praiseworthy efforts to preserve a memory of them, e.g., the different archaeological surveys, such admirable books as Smith's Fatehpur Sikri, etc. But a general direction is needed, some general principles : some elementary truths have to be taught to men full of zeal, but untrained or badly trained, who are not sufficiently in touch with European archaeologists and comparative methods : above all, who have not in any degree that rarest of gifts among Englishmen, the aesthetic fancy. And no light can be hoped for, unfortunately, from Native Nobles, whose taste seems utterly vitiated. If they could be led back to an intelligent appreciation of good Hindu work in the past, a love for it, a desire it should live in the future, more would be done for Indian industrial arts and architecture than by all the art schools in the world, which will no more produce art than compulsion virtue. If Your Excellency could make the taste of influential Hindus Hindu and a living thing, an appetite, he would have deserved well of lovers of beauty all the world over.

2. *Letter from T. Turner, Esq., Secretary to the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings, Adelphi, dated 5th January 1900, on Viceroy's speech regarding the preservation of Ancient Buildings in India.*

This Society has read in the *Times* of December 30th, 1899, of the strong statement made by Your Excellency on the subject of the valuable Ancient Buildings in India, for which the Society has so long struggled to preserve.

The Committee directs me to forward the enclosed papers,* which it feels

* Not printed.

sure will meet with Your Excellency's sympathy and approval, and to express

the Society's deep sense of gratitude to Your Excellency for having strongly and publicly expressed these views.

3. *Letter from Major J. B. Keith, Lausanne, Switzerland, dated 13th January 1900, on Viceroy's speeches at Muttra and Gwalior and on the preservation of Ancient Buildings in India.*

I have neither the right nor would I naturally have the inclination to presume on Your Lordship's indulgence by addressing you direct. But when I have failed to obtain a hearing through the ordinary channel, I have more than once obtained my request by a direct appeal, notably with Lords Lansdowne and Wenlock. Besides I trust that the interest of the moment or the subject will readily secure me your forgiveness for an informality.

By chance I recently came upon a speech of Your Excellency, I may say two speeches : one delivered at Muttra and the other at Gwalior, in which I, an obscure individual, may be allowed to take an interest. In the one Your Lordship declared, that it was your intention to make the conservation of monuments a primary duty and the other had reference to the "stone carving of Gwalior." Since the time of the spiritual Greeks, who touched a chord in harmony with Hindu sentiment and used their chisels in honouring the lovable Buddha, I know of no foreign ruler who has made a similar declaration. I except of course Asoka and Akbar who were Hindus and very great men.

Of Anglo-Indians, I can safely say that in 40 years' connection with India I never met twenty men, who could see what both equity and policy dictate. As a nation, we are financiers, traders, utilitarians, but for art we have no sympathy ; and worse still have forgot what capital could be made out of a different attitude. It may be interesting to Your Excellency to know, that the "Govind Deva Temple" at Muttra, together with the "Sâs Bahu" on the Gwalior citadel and the Chatur Bhurj at Urcha, illustrates a valuable fact. All are of different periods, but in combination, one supplies what the other is deficient in. Thus an excellent and complete restoration could be made with all the towers and illustrative of Indian mediæval splendour. I made this discovery before leaving India, and it greatly pleased and interested my friend the late General Sir A. Cunningham when I saw him in London. Apart from this, it has a value in harmony with a recommendation of mine, that only buildings typical of a period, of a race, dynasty or religion or of exceptional artistic beauty such as the marble monuments of the Moslem at Agra, ought to be conserved.

Some years ago the various English Ambassadors in Europe, interested in my letters to the *Times*, sent me many books apropos of conservation, but I did not

persevere. And this, because I found the Government of India had no heart in the matter and because I was personally ill-treated by it.

In reference to Your Excellency's speech at Gwalior, I may be allowed in justice to myself to take some credit for the revival of the stone carving. My Gwalior residence covered days very different to the present beneficent régime. There was both a strong and an excellent Prince, the late Maharaja, but a Durbar who delighted in intrigue and obstruction.

When, therefore, I revived the guild of stone carvers and, with the approval of Government, proposed a stone gateway, I met with much opposition. A gold medal was awarded to the Maharaja who as a Mahratta took no interest in art; but I never received a "thank you" and caught the seeds of a cold in 1884 which has injured me ever since. An India House Minute records that I saved the Gwalior citadel from ruin, and Sir H. Daly (then Assistant Agent to the Governor-General in Indore) assured me that I ought to have received an honorarium from the Durbar. But I never received my personal expenses such as carriage hire in going daily to the quarry. Worse still, the gateway has lain for 15 years and in detached pieces in a room at South Kensington. My object therefore in advertising the Gwalior industry has been lost.

In consequence of the persistent kindness of the Duke of Abercorn, a friend of a kinsman, I hear the gateway is to be incorporated in the new buildings at South Kensington, but this is a slight satisfaction to the workmen or myself who wasted our enthusiasm in vain.

Accidentally I hear that through Your Lordship's sympathy the Archaeological Survey is to be revived. This gives a significance and interest to your speech at Muttra in regard to "Monumental Conservation." And I think it opportune to recall how the Survey of 1886 miscarried.

I was specially selected for the office of conserving the monuments, an office, I need not add, which would have been most congenial to my tastes. Further my duties were defined and ratified in Government letters and resolutions. Unhappily, there were those who took no interest in conservation and desired to secure my appointment for a German Doctor, Führer, since dismissed. He had been gazetted as my assistant. Government cannot control indiscretions involuntarily committed by subordinates and feels bound to support a Secretary, however injurious his actions to others.

Still, a tyro will see that for Government to select an officer for a particular office and then turn round as in this case and say "conservation forms no part of the duties of the Archaeological Survey" was a very unhappy and illogical act. And I was the victim. The present Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces will be able to enlighten Your Excellency as to facts to which I refer. They were so cruel that the then Secretary to Government in Agriculture, Sir E. Buck, wrote to me "everything will be done to obtain your compensation."

Need I add I never received a farthing beyond a £150 which did not pay my doctor's bill ! Of the Archaeological Survey, I would desire respectfully to point out that no new discovery has been made since the valuable labours of General Sir A. Cunningham came to a close ! To most sensible men, enquiry as to "the shadow of Buddha" or his "tooth" is trifling with the patience of Government and the hardpressed ryot.

For years the necessities of Indian Archaeology have fallen into the hands of philologists, who have made it a preserve in pressing home the exploded theories of Professor Max Müller, largely responsible for the exaggerations of Western civilization. Identity of language is not identity of race, and so far as industry and art, our true gauge, can throw a light upon the subject, it is in favour of environment and a pre-Aryan race.

If not presuming, I might suggest, in the interests of practical work, that archaeological experts be attached to the staff of Mr. Risley in conducting the new census.

The long deferred claims of Indian workmen, I may be allowed to believe, are far more important in Your Excellency's estimation than the claims of "Buddha's shadow or tooth."

I am aware that the reorganization of Indian industry is surrounded by political difficulties of no ordinary kind and that the claims of our manufacturers are a thorn in the adjustment.

With Sir A. Lyall I agree that we cannot go back on Western ideas, however fatal the original error. And I hold that nature has partially affected the union of East and West.

Your Excellency will forgive a student thus frankly expressing himself.

My belief is that although individualism has done cruel wrong to India, the individual after all is the proper complement to the family. Buddha was as much an individual as Christ, although the environment of Syria was very different to India ; its climate was an exciting and restless one. It is quite true that the Buddhist period saw the people enjoy a large share of political, industrial and religious liberty. But despite the individualism of Buddha, the family was the unit of Government as in Switzerland and never the individual as in America and England.

All ancient Buddhist monuments prove the ascendancy of the communities.

Then, while it is possible for Eastern and Western civilization to preserve a structural union, students have to remember that the climate of the East and West was in a prior geological age more uniform. So Professor Geikie writes me. Since then it has differentiated greatly, and we have both in oxen and human beings an absolutely different race. If Your Lordship will permit me, I might venture to record an opinion as the result of years of constant study. All forces, more especially science, point to equality and socialism.

While the Hindus love a patriarchal ruler and autocracy, conservative socialism is also at the root of their ideas. A pre-Muhammadan Rajah mixed with the people, ate the same food and cooked it. Englishmen fail to see this. I may be wrong in holding that primitive ideas are the correct ones and in the socialistic tendencies of the hour I see but a return to them.

There could never be a more idealistic Government than that of Peru which under the Incas excluded riches and poverty. As the course of European legislation (and this with a strange irony in England—the home of the individual) is socialistic, I hope the Hindu will have his turn. What is wanted in India is the placing of industry under Government direction. Otherwise the Hindus will be robbed, by a counterfeit plant individualism, as foreign to Indian soil as to ours. I crave Your Excellency's forbearance and pardon if I have expressed myself warmly, my only apology being that I have the welfare of Hindu workmen much at heart.

And if I have intruded my own personal grievance, it is because I am in very poor circumstances, and have barely the means of carrying out my favourite studies.

4. Letter from the Most Revd. Dr. P. Goethals, S. J., Archbishop of Calcutta, dated 8th February 1900, on Viceroy's speech at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

I regretted very much that my state of health did not permit me to be present, last evening, at the meeting of the Asiatic Society. This morning I read with a thrilling interest the speech of Your Excellency on "Ancient Buildings in India." As a sincere lover of India, Indian History, and Indian Art, allow me to thank you from my heart for the noble words which have fallen from your lips. I hail them as a fair promise and pledge of better days for Indian Archæology.

5. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir Arthur Godley, dated 8th February 1900, on his speech at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

As you have been good enough to express an interest in my enthusiasm about old monuments, I send you a copy of a speech which I made at the Annual Meeting of the Asiatic Society last night. When its logical sequel arrives in the shape of sanction for a rather higher expenditure, I shall bespeak your support. I put my case against the Government of India and my predecessors as mildly as possible; and laboured to find cause for praise. In reality the neglect has been continuous,

shocking, and, in my judgment, quite indefensible. You will see, if you study the Press out here, that my statement will evoke an outburst of universal approval, both from Europeans and Natives. The *Englishman* has already led off this morning.

6. *Letter from C. R. Wilson, Esq., Principal, Patna College, dated 9th February 1900, on Viceroy's speech at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and on the preservation of some tombs and a mosque in Dacca.*

I was Secretary to the Asiatic Society at the time the Central Government were thinking of withdrawing altogether from the work of archæological survey and it fell to me to write a letter to the Government protesting altogether against this view. I felt strongly myself on the subject and you may therefore understand how happy I am to read His Excellency's speech at the Asiatic Society.

The practical object I have in view in writing this is to express a hope that His Excellency will at any rate give a cursory glance at Dacca. I do not say there are any very remarkable remains there but what there is might easily be overlooked—East Bengal being somewhat out of the way. In Dacca itself in the Lal Bagh there is a small mosque and the tomb of Bibi Peri, the daughter of Shayista Khan and niece of Shah Jahan, and out in the jungles some fifteen miles away are some tombs of early Moslem Kings of Bengal. I was first stationed at Dacca and so I just mention these facts. I daresay His Excellency already has his eye on Dacca, but in any case I think there can have been no harm in writing.

7. *Letter from Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., dated 1st March 1900, on the Association for carrying on explorations in India.*

You will see from the enclosed page * 17, paragraph 3, that the Government of India have pledged themselves to assist the Exploration Fund. All the conditions

* Not printed.

imposed will be scrupulously carried out. At pages 7—14 you will find that the Central Council is the Executive of the Association. I may point out that one of the objects of this Association is to prevent archæological research from falling into incompetent or unscrupulous hands. The Association offers a guarantee against spoliation of which there have been too many instances.

Sir Alfred Lyall is as much alive as I am to the caution which will be required in giving our sanction to foreign explorers. But, if we take into consideration the extent of the unexplored area, the impossibility of introducing a

monopoly for our own experts and the invidiousness of excluding foreign archæologists from the scientific arena, I think you will admit that your Government could not cancel Lord Elgin's settlement.

Many thanks for your letter and for the interesting speech, from which I was delighted to see your intention to place these operations on a solid basis. You will be pleased to notice that we are not neglecting the famine although the war appeals in the first place to our financial support and obtains it on a very generous scale.

8. Letter from Major J. B. Keith, dated 7th April 1900, on Viceroy's speech at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, and on the preservation of Ancient Monuments in India.

I have to thank your Lordship for a very gracious and kind note. My obligations are equally due for a copy of the highly important address Your Excellency delivered to the Asiatic Society. And I feel the kindness the more seeing how many cares rest upon Your Lordship's time. Once an old Waterloo officer told me that such was Lord Fitzroy Somerset's sympathetic feeling that an officer felt always more or less consoled. This is my own feeling.

In India it had long been the fashion to look upon monumental conservation as a luxury, regardless of the close connexion it has with traditional industry. And a gentleman who on the Viceroy's Council took an interest in the matter, was said to be only fit to be "curated" himself. But Your Lordship has happily given an example for which we ought to be grateful. If not presumption I would with diffidence express the opinion, that Mr. Fergusson, whom I had the pleasure of knowing, was mistaken as to the antiquity of Indian civilization. He was an Architectural specialist who had bestowed no attention on the history of the subordinate arts. I confess indeed that it has been many years a puzzle to me why the lithic expression was so late in India, in comparison with other Eastern and Western art. But when I came to differentiate Eastern and Western ideas, I seemed to hit upon the explanation. Owing to geographical position and climate the Hindus move more slowly than the Egyptians or Greeks. Then the ancestral cult induced them to preserve primitive ideas. Notwithstanding this on the Asoka Pillars, B. C. 250, we see stone carving not at an intermediate but matured stage, and it is hard to account for the beautiful stone carving at Sanchi alongside rude architectural forms unless there were temples for it. It could not have borrowed from the Babylonians, Assyrians, or Persians, for these countries never indulged in the art and Egypt very sparingly in decorative ornament. Most works on Persia I have read including Your Excellency's own encyclopædic work and those of Morier, Chardin, and Malcolm.

According to Chipiez and Perrot it has been a question whether Persepolis was the work of Egyptian artists after Cambyses' invasion or of the Greeks. It may be an architectural heresy but early emigrations from India and repeated settlements of Indian artisans there are far more suggestive of the Hindus teaching the Persians than *vice versa*. Besides all were the same Turanian workmen.

Aryan workmen in India or Aryan names is simply due to conquerors imposing their language and to religious converts.

My hope is that Your Excellency's health may be long preserved and that an *industrial enquiry* may be one of the great features of your rule. Lord Lansdowne most kindly sent me copies of the last census which dealt chiefly with Races and Religion. As the next will treat of Industry, I shall be very thankful if your predecessor's kindness is continued.

9. Letter from H. C. Fanshawe, Esq., C.S.I., Commissioner and Superintendent, Delhi Division, dated 2nd July 1900, on the revision of Fergusson's work on "Eastern Architecture."

Will you please submit this to His Excellency the Viceroy, if it is proper to do so, when you think His Excellency has a spare five minutes.

While I was at home last (1897-98) I called on Messrs. Murray in connection with the revision of their Handbooks and of Fergusson's notable work on Eastern Architecture, and had a long discussion with them regarding the latter. I proposed to them that they should address either the Secretary of State for India or the Government of India, and should ask for assistance to complete the book and bring it up to date in accordance with the latest acquired knowledge on the subject, retaining the general text practically untouched; and I ventured to assure them that I believed the Government of India would respond to such a request and would place at their disposal such information as might be asked for. Messrs. Murray asked me if I could undertake the revision of the work for them, but I replied that, as is the case, my knowledge was not at all sufficient for such an undertaking, and accordingly it was arranged that I should go carefully through the book and as far as my knowledge went should draw up statements which would show exactly what assistance was sought asking for information and details (*e.g.*, measurements of buildings, present condition, photographs of the Archaeological Survey, etc.) from each Government and Department. This I have not been able to do since I returned to India in November 1898 owing to press of work, but I hope to be able to begin the task presently. When I saw Messrs. Murray in the spring of 1898, the hope of a Viceroy, who would take a personal interest in the work, did not enter into my consideration or theirs. I know from what His Excellency has said to

me that he attaches great value to Mr. Fergusson's work, which is indeed a masterpiece of its class, and I believe that he would be pleased to direct all possible assistance of the kind I have indicated to be given to Messrs. Murray in revising the book. I could write this of course to Messrs. Murray myself, but I think that His Excellency may perhaps desire that the offer of such assistance should come from him, and may wish you to write to Messrs. Murray accordingly, mentioning that I had told him of my suggestions to them. If the assistance given could be extended to each Local Government asking the few special officers who care for archæology in each province to carefully consider the portions of the book which relate to the parts of the subject which they know intimately and to record their suggestions on these, the value of it would be still greater. I have no doubt that in return for the assistance given, Messrs. Murray would provide the Government of India at a special price with copies of the new edition for distribution to officers connected with archæology or interested in archæological studies.

10. *Letter from the Earl of Northbrook, G.C.S.I., dated 12th July 1901, on the scheme for an "Indian Exploration Fund."*

I received a short time ago a paper from the Asiatic Society asking me to join a scheme for starting Executive Committees in America, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and England to manage an International Fund for the Archæological Exploration of India. I said that I could not join in the movement without knowing whether you approve of it—being doubtful whether you would like an incursion of archæologists scattered about India with all sorts of proposals, and I know you have taken a great interest in these questions. The whole thing does not seem to me to be very practical, for the archæologists are by no means millionaires, and I doubt if any subscriptions of consequence will be forthcoming—some day you can tell me what you think of it.

11. *Letter from Viceroy, to the Earl of Northbrook, dated 16th November 1901, on the scheme for an "Indian Exploration Fund."*

In your last letter you kindly asked for my opinion about a proposal to send a motley crew of international archæologists rampaging about India. My predecessor unfortunately gave his sanction to the scheme. I have not the slightest intention of admitting them to the country. Anything that remains to be done—and there is a great deal—we are prepared to undertake ourselves; and I am

just re-establishing the post of Director General of Archæology, and getting out a man from home. I do not at all want a polyglot crew of Germans, French and so on digging about in India, hammering the natives, and carrying off our spoil. The project will probably languish for want of funds : and it will certainly meet with no encouragement from me.

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PART II.

SPECIAL LOCALITIES.

ABU.

Note by Hon'ble Mr. A. H. T. Martindale, C.S.I., Agent to the Governor-General, Rajputana, dated 23rd November 1902, on restoration of the Dilwara Temples.

His Excellency the Viceroy visited the Dilwara Temples at Mount Abu on the 20th November 1902.

The following gentlemen, among others, were present :—

- (1) The Agent to the Governor-General.
- (2) Mr. W. R. Lawrence, Private Secretary to His Excellency.
- (3) Colonel E. Baring, Military Secretary to His Excellency.
- (4) Mr. G. G. White, Secretary to the Agent to the Governor-General in the Public Works Department.
- (5) Captain S. B. Patterson, Magistrate, Abu, and other officers.

Note.—The Resident, Major K. D. Erskine, was not able to attend.

About a month before His Excellency's visit on 20th November, 1902, I had been informed that whitewashing was started, and went in person to inspect the Temples. I found that the Temple on the right of the road had been whitewashed, and one wall (outside) on the left of the road had been commenced. I extracted a definite promise from the overseer in charge that the whitewashing should be *absolutely* stopped. When His Excellency arrived on the 20th November it was found that every wall and every bit of the Temples inside and outside had been whitewashed (except only the marble carving)—even the stone roofs. All the wood and iron had been painted red, green, yellow, etc. His Excellency expressed much dissatisfaction, and after a thorough inspection of the Temples and of the rude attempts at cleaning, restoration of pillars, lintels, etc., he held an *ex-tempore* meeting of the local officers who had accompanied him and of the Jain representatives who were on the spot. These latter constituted two distinct bodies : (1) representatives of a prominent Jain Association at Bombay who had recently contributed a sum of Rs. 15,000 towards the restoration of the Dilwara Temples, and who had asked leave to present an address to His Excellency ; and (2) certain local Jains (including their paid manager) who were supposed to be more or less representatives of the Jain community at Abu, though not, as far as could be ascertained, constituting a local Committee.

After considerable difficulty it was elicited that the whitewashing, etc., had been done really in honour of His Excellency's visit, nominally under the head of annual (or decennial ?) repairs : that the local Committee *plus* the paid manager had full powers (and funds) to order all such work at discretion : and that practically no one interfered with them.

His Excellency then took up each point *seriatim* :—

- (1) Whitewashing and painting ;
- (2) Cleaning with acid or otherwise ;
- (3) Restoring by replacing broken fragments, limbs, lintels, pillars, figures, etc.

At His Excellency's advice and instance the local representatives and the manager absolutely and unreservedly promised to suspend all action in these directions until His Excellency had been able to depute an expert in Archaeology with an Engineer (preferably Mr. Marshall and Colonel Sir Swinton Jacob) to inspect the buildings thoroughly for (say) a week, and then to report in detail on what restorations were required and how best they could be done, and the probable cost. Also whether skilled labour could be procured, and whence.

His Excellency promised that he would consider their report and acquaint the local Committee and principal Jain representatives with the results, probably in the course of next summer (say, August 1903).

All the Jain representatives present promised to act on the advice of the officers deputed, and those from the Bombay Presidency pledged themselves to find funds up to 2, 3, or 4 lakhs, as the case might be, with which to carry out any duly sanctioned proposals.

The Isxa. representatives assured His Excellency that they could answer for the whole body of Jains interested in this matter, and that their pledges then given to His Excellency would be accepted by the others concerned. It was stated that the local Committee have already at their disposal about one lakh for the purposes of the Temples.

Meantime they pledged themselves that all action in the way of whitewashing, painting, restoring, covering open spaces with wire-netting, or other work in the same direction and of a similar nature, would be absolutely forbidden.

His Excellency received the address from the Bombay Jain representatives and gave a present to the Temple custodians.

A G R A.

1. ORDERS PASSED BY VICEROY ON HIS VISIT TO AGRA IN DECEMBER 1899.

Agra Fort.

1. *The Diwan-i-Am*—Is now almost entirely covered with plaster, white-washed, and in some cases, I think, coloured. The whole of this plaster appears to be modern, the last coating having been put on for the Prince of Wales' Durbar, which was held there in 1876. It should be stripped off, and the *Diwan-i-Am* should be restored to its original appearance, i.e., red sandstone columns and walls.

2. *The Gates of Somnath*.—These gates, which have no connection with Hindu art or with any Hindu temple, but are a Muhammadan fabrication of a debased period, certainly long subsequent to the days of Mahmud of Ghazni, who is alleged to have carried them off from Kathiawar, may as well be preserved where they are for the present. But it is a question whether some of the broken or missing panels might not be replaced by boards of wood, a little less rude and clumsy than those which have been roughly nailed to the back of the empty squares.

3. The red sandstone parapet of the inner court in the *Jahangiri Mahal* should be completely restored. (I spoke at length to Mr. Smith about this.)

Taj Mahal.

1. *The Garden*.—I expressed a wish that the cypresses should be re-planted, not, as before, at the sides or edges of the beds on either side of the stone causeways, nor in two rows on each side, but in a single row on either side, the trees being placed in the middle of the beds. Thus there will be a single cypress avenue framing the Taj at the end. The garish English flowers which now fill these beds should be removed, and suitable dark shrubs or plants should be planted round the base of the cypresses. On either side of the central tank trellised archways have been made, the sides of which consist of red sandstone blocks standing on end, and the roof of creepers trained on wires. A visitor to the Taj, subsequent to my tour, told me that it was in contemplation to remove these. This should not be done. I never even hinted at their removal, and they are pretty, even if not very correct.

I found that the cloister surrounding the entire garden was used for the storage of flower pots and other horticultural objects or implements. These should be removed.

I found the central pavilion in the left hand enclosure wall filled up below with bricks or some other material. I suggested that these should all be cleared away ; that the modern plaster should be stripped off the walls and ceiling ; and that the marble and stone pavement outside should be cleaned.

In my judgment the tall trees on the left hand side of the main avenue, near the upper end of the tomb platform, should not be cut down, even though they shut out from view the left hand minarets as one enters the main gate. I would cut down no big trees.

2. *The Tomb.*—In the crypt the tomb of Shah Jahan has been shamelessly despoiled of its inlay of coloured stones, which, in curious contrast to the cenotaphs under the main dome, has never been replaced. The condition of this sarcophagus is, on the whole, the main blot in the present appearance of the Taj. The stones—agate, cornelian, etc.—should be carefully restored by the best workmen that Agra can produce.

. Instructions on many other points I gave with great detail to Mr. Smith.

Tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah.

1. In the entrance archway or vestibule of the tomb the paintings on plaster have been execrably restored by the Public Works Department in recent years. The designs are alleged to be, and may possibly be, reproductions of the originals. But all beauty of form and colouring has disappeared, and the execution is inexpressibly vile. The whole of this modern work should be removed, and if, as is probable, the original designs below have faded or been obliterated beyond recognition, the panels should be re-painted with as close an approximation as possible to the designs and colours in the neighbouring untouched panels.

2. The custodian should be turned out of the entrance gateway where he is now living, and where a brick wall has been built across one of the upstairs archways that look on to the court.

3. The garden should be better tended, and planted with greater discrimination. Parts of it are quite bare, and the main avenues are not suitably planted.

4. The balustrade should be restored round the upper platform or roof of the main building.

5. No other restoration; or, still more, re-painting, should be permitted.

The Chini-ka-Roza.

1. This exquisite little tomb is in a shocking state of dilapidation. A small enclosure should be taken in round the building, neatly railed and planted as a garden. There is nothing now to prevent anyone who can find his way there from plundering or destroying as he pleases, with the result that all the lower *kashi* work has already been stripped off. The gateway in the railing should be kept locked, and the key should be kept by the *chaukidar*, who lives in the adjoining house, immediately to the right of the entrance.

2. No renovation or restoration should be permitted in the tomb. The object should be to arrest further decay.

3. At the point where, in order to reach the Chini-ka-Roza, one has to leave the main road, a neat signboard should be put up to guide the visitor, and a pathway should be made down to the enclosure containing the tomb.

Tomb of Akbar at Sikandra.

1. The four white marble minarets at the corners of the main gateway, which were shot away when Agra was sacked by the Jats, should, if possible, be restored. There should not be the least difficulty in recovering the original form.

2. The lower storey of the great building containing the tomb has, in quite modern times, by some freak of bad taste, been whitewashed. This is in stupid and garish contrast to the remaining storeys, which (all but the topmost terrace) are of red sandstone. The lower storey should be coloured to match the sandstone.

3. The stone causeway, and the water channel between the tomb platform and the great archway on its left hand, should be repaired.

Fatehpur Sikri.

I gave the most minute instructions on every point to Mr. Smith.

General Restoration.

The main danger against which the Archaeological Surveyor must be on his guard is the temptation to re-paint or reproduce the old painted floral panels, whether painted on plaster or on marble. I observed frequent cases, at Itmad-ud-Daulah, at Fatehpur Sikri, in the Fort Palace, and elsewhere, where the attempt has been made. I thought them almost uniformly bad. Though the work now done is incomparably better than that which was carried out by the Public Works Department twenty years ago, and though it represents a conscientious effort to reproduce with fidelity what may be believed to have been the pigments of the Mogul artists, the effect is nevertheless *criant*, inartistic, and lacking in real delicacy or refinement. I would not object to Mr. Smith taking a dilapidated or faded corner of a ceiling, a cornice, or a wall, and reproducing—simply as an experiment, and for the instruction of visitors—over a small and circumscribed space what is presumed to have been the original colouring and design. But it should be firmly laid down that in no case should an attempt be made to rejuvenate an entire wall, cornice, or ceiling; that the new work is to be regarded as a sample or specimen only; above all, that it should never be superimposed upon the faded, but incomparably more beautiful, work of the original artists. The great danger to be feared and avoided in the buildings at Agra is not the danger of the chisel, but that of the paint brush. After reproducing, as Mr. Smith has done with wonderful beauty in the publications of the Archaeological Survey, what are

believed to have been the original aspect and colouring of many of these exquisite designs, there is a natural temptation to go on and reproduce them on the original wall or building itself. The most scrupulous caution should be exercised on this point, and the most definite instructions laid down ; otherwise we may find an entire hall or chamber or portico prostituted and ruined for ever, as was done with some of the apartments in the *Diwan-i-Khas* at Delhi at the time of the Prince of Wales' visit to India.

2. Letter from the Earl of Northbrook, K.G., dated 16th March 1900, on preservation of Buildings at Agra.

Thank you for your letter and very interesting speech upon the preservation of the ancient monuments. I am glad to see that you admire as much as I did the Moti Musjid at Agra, one of the most beautiful places of worship in the world, and have rescued it from profanation. I doubt if I deserved what you said of me. It may be worth your while to find out if there is a decent covering over the tomb of Akbar. I found a wretched rag over it and got a good piece of Delhi embroidery. Evelyn Baring (Cromer) wrote to me when he was Finance Minister that it was stolen, but I daresay it has been replaced since—I mean the tomb at the bottom of the building—(is it Sikandra ?) where the body really lies.

3. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. P. MacDonnell, G.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 7th April 1900, on Ancient Buildings at Agra.

Ever since I was at Agra I have had it in my mind to send you a brief summary of some of the conclusions at which I arrived in my peregrination of your classical buildings. I went everywhere with Mr. Smith, and gave him the most detailed instructions or suggestions as to individual or petty pieces of work. He made notes of all these in his pocket-book, which I hope that in his subsequent breakdown he did not lose or destroy. On the paper that I send you I sum up a few of the wider points, and should be glad if you will take such steps as may be required to give effect to them. Later on when I appoint an Archaeological Director for all India, he will come round and advise as to the execution of these and similar detailed works. In connection with the Taj garden, may I ask if the retired soldier is still there as gardener (a clearly inadequate arrangement) or whether you have yet been able to replace him by an expert ? The Taj garden hs'e been

very capriciously treated in the past ; and what is wanted is continuity of treatment on definite and artistic lines.

Enclosure of No. 3—See No. 1 above.

4. Note by C. W. Odling, Esq., Chief Engineer, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 26th June 1900, on action taken on Viceroy's orders of December 1899.

The notes on the printed papers which follow show the action, taken to date, on the orders given to Mr. Smith by His Excellency the Viceroy in December 1899. The estimates as noted below have been sanctioned by the Lieutenant-Governor in June 1900.

	Estimate.	Allotment for current year.
	Rs.	Rs.
(1) Structural repairs to the west wing of the Jahangiri Mahal, Agra Fort.	27,005	12,197
(2) Structural repairs to the Archaeological Buildings at Fatehpur Sikri.	20,852	13,784
(3) Restoring two kiosks, Saheli Burj Taj, Agra, and other minor works.	2,965	2,965
(4) Restoration of two Dalans and a kiosk at Sikandra ..	6,331	3,300
(5) Special repairs to the causeway at Sikandra ..	6,137	1,000
(6) Awning for Akbar's tomb, Sikandra ..	198	198
(7) Special repairs to the Fatehpur mosque outside the enclosure wall of the Taj at Agra (lately taken over at the request of the Muhammadan community).	12,429	12,429
TOTAL ..	75,917	45,873

The above estimates are exclusive of annual repairs, the grants for which have been largely * increased. Funds have been reserved for expenditure during the current year on the Kanch Mahal and Chini-ka-Roza, for which estimates will shortly be received.

	Rs.
* 1899-00 ..	5,490
1900-01 ..	12,270

*Enclosure of No. 4 :**List of repairs and works which the Viceroy proposed should be undertaken in Agra District.*

A.—No action has been taken yet.

A.—The Public Works Department were opposed to this work chiefly on the ground that the structure is at present somewhat insecure, though it has been braced up with iron tie bars and is generally sedulously looked after. The original foundations were bad.

B.—Will be repaired from Annual Repairs grant this year.

B.—Can be carried out at once.

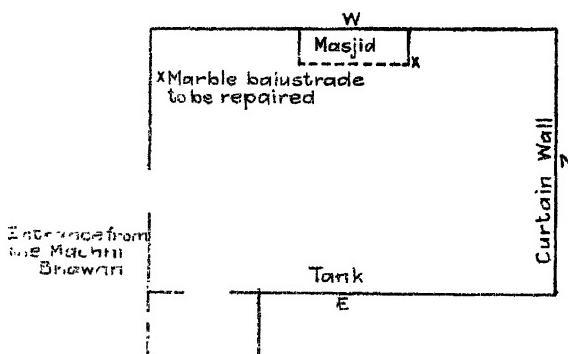
C.—Estimate under preparation.

C.—Estimate can be framed.

Agra, the Fort, Diwan-i-Am.—His Excellency was of opinion that the plaster covering the columns should not be removed till more important works in the Fort, such as the restoration of the Jahangiri Mahal, had been completed.

The leg of the marble footstool by the marble throne on the ground floor of the Diwan-i-Am should be repaired.

Agra, Nagina Musjid.—Repair and replace, where necessary, the marble balustrade on the north and south sides of the mosque marked X on sketch between the outer piers and the curtain walls enclosing the mosque : see sketch.



Where necessary, repair coping.

D.—Estimate under preparation.

D.—Can be repaired next year so far as funds are available. Estimate can be framed.

E. } Will be repaired from Annual Repairs grant this year {

E.—Can probably be done at once.

F.—Can probably be done at once.

Agra Fort. Baths opposite the Diwan-i-Khas.—Repair generally, including flues and floors, from time to time and marble screen facing the river as funds can be found for the purpose.

Diwan-i-Khas.—Repair, where necessary, small steps leading into the Diwan-i-Khas.

Agra Fort. The Mina Musjid.—Repair marble lintel over outer central bay of musjid.

Saman Burj.—Complete the marble railing on G.—Estimate required. G.—Estimate will be prepared side nearest the Diwan-i-Khas, where necessary.

Khas Mahal.—Take out wooden windows in H.—Estimate required. H.—Estimate will be prepared centre of marble screens facing the river and replace with marble ones.

Jahangiri Mahal.—Restore generally upper I.—This is an extensive front facing the river together with the stone work. Estimate can screen round the top, which probably extended be framed and work as far as the towers on the north and south carried out as funds angles of the building. available. I.—Estimate for portion to be restored this year is being framed and will be submitted as soon as it is ready.

Hall on south side of inner quadrangle in centre of palace.—Restore geometrical screens where broken, and replace the solid one in south wall by a pierced screen. J.—Estimate required. J.—Estimate will be prepared.

West facade.—Scrape off yellow paint from the spandrels of archway over the entrance in the centre of the façade and the columns of the balconies on the sides thereof. K.—Estimate required. K.—Estimate will be prepared.

Repair the façade generally, including drip-stone and screen above the arched entrance, which probably continued along the top of the parapet to the north and south bastions.

Generally.—Remove all whitewash now covering the carved stonework.

As funds become available repair the building generally, including the dripstone round the interior quadrangle. Remove the modern brick piers supporting the broken lintels, which should be replaced by new ones.

Carve the new brackets in hall on north side of the quadrangle in centre of palace in accordance with old works.

Repair floors where necessary.

Agra Fort, Moti Musjid.—Repair inlay work L.—Estimate required. Estimate will be prepared of panels and niches in walls of musjid, some of which have been repaired from time to time with plaster.

Somnath Gates.—The iron screens round the M.—Estimate required. M.—Estimate will be gates might be removed and replaced by glazed prepared. wooden doors in order to afford them protection from the weather.

The Taj, Agra.

N.—These remarks refer to garden matters controlled by the Collector. A copy of remarks may be sent to the Commissioner.

The Taj.—Generally no trees should be removed except when absolutely necessary.

The flowers in borders on sides of fountains between the entrance gate and the Taj itself to be removed and planted with cypress trees. His Excellency spoke to Mr. Cobb on this subject, and subsequently to the Commissioner.

The whole of the cloisters, pavilions on the east and west sides of the garden, and the towers at the angles thereof to be cleared out, and all garden tools, materials, building plant, etc., removed.

All garden refuse to be removed from the stone paths on the east and west sides of the compound, and the stone walls are to be scraped and cleaned as far as possible. The nursery to be removed to the outside of the garden.

O.—A good deal repair. O.—Estimate required. ed last year. Estimate for doing more will be prepared.

The pavement in front of the pavilions on the east and west sides of the garden to be repaired when funds can be found for the purpose, and the whitewash to be removed from the walls and screens.

P.—Structural repairs P.—Estimate required. done last year.

As funds become available, the towers at the angles of the garden should be repaired.

Q.—A good deal of work Q.—This work can be was done last year. Estimate will be prepared for doing more.

carried out at once so the inlaid dadoes in the mosque have been removed and either restored properly in marble or left alone altogether. The carved dadoes in the *Jawab* on the east side of the Taj have been patched in places with plain pieces of stone : when possible, they should be neatly pieced and recarved.

R.—Done last year. R.—Can be carried out at once.

The Taj itself.—The marble soffits of the semi-domes in the centres of the façades should be cleaned.

R.—Done last year. R.—Estimate to be framed.

Shah Jahan's Tomb.—His Excellency suggested that an estimate should be obtained by the Public Works Department for repairing the inlaid work with which the tomb is ornamented. I understood His Excellency to say that he had

already spoken to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject.

His Excellency thought that the outer compound wall facing the Fatehpur Musjid and the Saheli Burj, where built of brick, might be faced at some time with stone, in keeping with the rest of the compound wall.

Itmad-ud-Daulah's Tomb.—The entrance gateway is used as a residence by the caretaker. His Excellency thought a small house might be built for him in the compound, and the brick walls, etc., which have been built up beneath the arches of the gateway for converting the place into a house for the caretaker, should be removed.

His Excellency disapproved of the way the mural paintings inside the tomb had been restored, but issued no orders on the subject. They were restored some five or six years ago.

The Chini-ka-Roza.—His Excellency ordered that a dwarf wall, with a gate in it, should be built round the tomb as a protection, and that the tank in front of it should be cleaned out. His Excellency spoke to the Commissioner of Agra on the subject, and suggested that a *chaudi-dar* should keep the gate locked and only open it to visitors, and that he should take care that no more of the enamel work is removed from the walls, as the tomb being coated with enamelled tiles is of exceptional interest. At present the zamindar farming the adjacent fields is, I believe, in charge of the tomb; but from what I can hear he does not take care of it, and sells bits of the tiling to visitors, alleging that he has found them amongst the *débris* strewing the ground. He also still, I believe, uses at times the tomb for storing grain and the like, notwithstanding he has been warned not to do so.

Sikandra.

The Kanch Mahal.—His Excellency was pleased to see that this building had been conserved by the Public Works Department and that it had been enclosed by a dwarf wall. His

S.—Estimate to be framed. S.—Estimate will be prepared.

T.—Estimate to be framed, the cost will be small and money can probably be given this year. T.—Estimate under preparation. Will be done this year.

The Chief Engineer inspected Itmad-ud-Daulah's Tomb on the 15th February 1900 and was of opinion that the Archaeological Surveyor should be entrusted with the work of removal of the painting and its reproduction after.

U.—The Commissioner should, I think, be addressed on this subject, as some land will probably have to be acquired. An estimate for the works required can be framed.

U.—Estimate submitted for sanction. Will be done this year.

V.—Estimate to be framed. The cost will probably be small and money can, if this is the case, be found this year.

V.—Estimate under preparation. Will be done this year.

Excellency thought that the carved masonry might be freed from whitewash and the marble spandrel of the archway over the porch might be restored.

W.—Drawings and estimates will be taken in hand shortly. W.—Drawings can be prepared and estimate can be prepared.

Akbar's Tomb.—His Excellency asked if it would be possible to restore the tops of the minarets over the south gateway.

It is not known, I believe, what they were like, and whether they were ever completed. I believe I am correct in saying that, as far back as 1782, they were in the same condition as they are now. If they were ever completed, they were probably crowned by open cupolas, not unlike those surmounting the towers at the angles of Itimad-ud-Daulah's tomb *minus* the inlaid ornamentation upon the columns.

X.—Estimate submitted for sanction. Will be done this year.

The Viceroy thought that some kind of a cover, made of tarpaulin, say, supported on a wooden stand, might be placed over Akbar's cenotaph during the monsoon and protect it from the rain, as the cracks in the marble appear to be enlarging. Also that, where broken, the marble screens round the topmost floor should be repaired. His Excellency spoke of the great gates and the causeways leading from the tomb to them, and approved of the suggestion made by me in my report submitted with this office letter No. 36-C.A., dated 17th March 1899, relating thereto.

Estimate being checked in Executive Engineer's office, will soon be submitted for sanction. A portion of the causeway will be restored this year.

Z.—Estimate under preparation.

Z.—Estimate required. His Excellency thought that the marble spandrels of the arches over the recesses on the east and west sides of southern gate might be restored when funds could be found for the purpose.

a.—The Commissioner may receive a copy of this remark.

His Excellency looked at the pavilion on the east and west sides of the southern gate, one of which (that on the east side) is being restored, and expressed his opinion that on no account should they or the great northern gate be used for housing the cattle employed in farming the garden round the tomb.

b.—Has been stopped.

b.—The coloured ornamentation was being carried out under Mr. Smith's order, and will be stopped.

Fatehpur-Sikri.—Generally His Excellency was much pleased with the restoration work done by the Public Works Department, but thought that the coloured ornamentation now being done in

the Hakim's baths should be stopped as it was not in keeping with the original work. His Excellency thought that these baths should be carefully *conserved*; but that the cut plaster panels ornamenting the walls should not be *restored*, whitewashed or coloured.

His Excellency thought that, at some time *d*.—Estimate required. or other, the *baoli* near the Hakim's baths on the side of the Agra Road should be *conserved*, and that the beehives disfiguring the underside of the great arch in front of the Buland Darwaza should be removed, and if possible means invented for preventing the bees building them again. *f*.—We have so far failed to find any effectual preventive.

His Excellency suggested that perhaps some day the columns and dripstone might be restored *g*.—Estimate required. round the diving well on the west side of the Buland Darwaza.

The Viceroy inspected Jodh Bai's palace and approved of the work being done there, but thought the brick piers supporting the broken breast-summers in some of the rooms should be removed. I explained this was about to be done *h*.—No order required. *h*.—Completed last year. and the broken breast-summers would be replaced by new ones. I also explained to His Excellency that Government intended repairing the buildings strictly in accordance with the old work.

Generally.—His Excellency approved of the restoration of the decorative work now being carried on in Salim Chishti's Tomb and Jahangiri Mahal, the Fort, Agra; but advised that not too much should be undertaken. His Excellency thought, if possible, all whitewash should be removed from the carved stone work in the Fatehpur-Sikri and Agra buildings, and I would suggest that Mr. Hankin should be asked to experiment, in consultation with the Executive Engineer, Agra, in order to ascertain the best way this could be done without injury to the surface of the stone.

c.—Can be carried out *c*.—Done last year. probably from next year's repair grant.

d and g.—One estimate for these two items being checked in divisional office and will soon be submitted. Will be done during current year.

h.—Will be carried out this year.

i.—I will, if the Lieutenant-Governor approves, communicate with Mr. Hankin.

C. W. ODLING,
Chief Engineer,
21-12-99.

G. J. JOSEPH,
Executive Engineer,
Agra Provincial Divn.
28-5-00.

E. W. SMITH, M.R.A.S.,

*Archaeological Surveyor, North-Western
Provinces and Oudh.*

5. Letter from Sir A. P. MacDonnell, dated 29th July 1900, on restoration of Buildings at Agra.

While at Agra I carefully inspected the restorations which are being carried out at the Fort and Taj : I think Your Excellency's instructions are being properly complied with. The restorations in the Jahangiri Mahal appeared to me to be very good. You ordered the plaster to be removed from the pillars, etc., of the Diwan-i-Khas (Diwan-i-Am ?) ; but the Engineers are doubtful of the effect of removal on the stability of the building, the corner arches and pillars of which are insecure. The removal of some of the plaster has shown that the red sandstone beneath is much decayed ; and as the plaster has consolidated in parts to near the solidity of good mortar, it affords strength to the pillars. I have noticed indications which suggest that this plaster is not of recent but of very old origin. It was all white-washed over, in anticipation of the Prince of Wales' visit in 1876 : but the underlying cement is undoubtedly ancient. I have called for a full report on the subject, and on receipt of it I will write again to Your Excellency on this point.

I think the removal of the flowers, and the substitution of simple grass in the plots bordering the water-channel in the Taj, is an improvement ; but I think the cypresses are planted too thickly. I send you a sketch made out for me to scale. It seems to me that one cypress in the larger grass plot (in the centre) instead of two would be quite enough. On this point I would like to know your wishes.

6. Letter from Sir A. P. MacDonnell, dated 5th August 1900, on restoration of Buildings at Agra.

When at Agra in July I satisfied myself that the enclosure in front of the main entrance to the Taj Garden had suffered greater injury from the lapse of time and decay that had been brought to notice : and that the whole enclosure had been surrounded by *dalans* and colonnades of the same character as those through which you enter the enclosure from the cantonment side. I enclose a tracing which I had prepared to show what I mean. If the Taj enclosure is to be restored to its pristine condition, these *dalans* and colonnades should be rebuilt.

I have had an estimate of the cost made out which I also enclose. It comes to Rs. 72,690 : but, in my opinion, the expenditure would not be much under a lakh.

In going over the ground I discovered, what I had not noticed before, that part of the Taj enclosure is now used as a municipal poor-house. It is shown on the tracing. It is my intention to have the poor-house removed and the quadrangle repaired. I am afraid this will cost a good round sum ; but no estimate has been yet prepared.

In regard to the plastered pillars of the Diwan-i-Am in the Fort, I enclose,
 * Not printed. for Your Excellency's perusal, copy of a report * prepared in 1875 when the building

was being prepared for the entertainment to the Prince of Wales. It shows that the underlying plaster is of old date.

I had intended bringing all these facts to Your Excellency's notice, when I had had leisure to consider them more fully, and to decide what money I could find for the expenditure they would entail, if undertaken. But I write hurriedly now, in the hope that this letter may reach you at Agra. If you would kindly get Mr. Lawrence to return me the enclosure, I may be able later on to use them.

7. Telegram from Viceroy, to the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 21st August 1900, on a covering over Akbar's tomb at Sikandra.

I read in papers with much consternation that permanent roof is being placed over sarcophagus of Akbar at Sikandra. Surely all that is required is temporary and movable shelter during rains. If facts are as above, I hope you will agree with me and counter-order works.

8. Telegram from the Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 22nd August 1900, on a covering over Akbar's tomb at Sikandra.

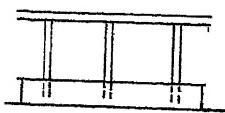
Your Excellency's telegram of yesterday. Chief Engineer informs me that no permanent covering over Akbar's tomb is being constructed. Only some removable wooden framework to shelter tomb from rains is being put up. I am making further enquiries. Of course, I quite agree in Your Excellency's views in matter.

9. Note by C. W. Odling, Esq., dated 25th August 1900, on Akbar's tomb canopy at Sikandra.

I have got the facts about Akbar's tomb canopy at Sikandra. Mr. Impey wrote to Mr. Sutherland who caused the canopy to be entirely removed on the 14th, a week before His Excellency telegraphed.

The only permanent parts of the canopy are stated to have been the stone bosses in which the framework, which was in itself removable, was to be fixed. The estimate being under Rs. 200 would not come to me, but, in discussing the matter, I had told the Superintending Engineer to use framework—a kind of hen-coop to support the tarpaulin, so that the marble work of the tomb should not by any

chance be stained. I did not contemplate any stone work but longitudinal pieces of timber lying on the ground supporting uprights—the whole to be taken away after the rains. A special kind of tarpaulin has now been procured which is said to be free from objection in regard to possibility of stains on the tomb.



10. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. P. MacDonnell, dated 28th August 1900, on restoration of Buildings at Agra.

This is in the main an archaeological letter. I did not unfortunately receive your letter of August 5th until after I had already left Agra a few hours; but the points raised in it had been named to me by Mr. Impey during my visit to the Taj and other buildings. I spent nearly two hours there. The Taj and its gardens were looking more beautiful than I have ever seen them; the green of the lawns was superb; the river was full; and the whole *mise-en-scène* was enchanting.

I entirely approve of the cypresses as they are now planted, *i.e.*, two, instead of one, in the longer beds. I think that an unequal interval between them would impair the symmetry of the avenue. The cypresses themselves struck me as small and skimpy; and I enquired whether larger specimens could not have been procured. Perhaps this may have been impossible. I suggested that, while still young and frail, they should be protected by screens against the gales and dust-storms that sometimes sweep with fury across the garden.

The grass-plots down the avenue looked a little bare. But this impression will disappear as the cypresses grow; and I felt no hesitation in preferring the new arrangement to the garish confusion of the beds as I saw them last winter.

I was very pleased to observe that the tomb of Shah Jahan in the vault had been repaired with really no mean skill; and I made the observation that in no other province but yours, did I think that the Viceroy's wishes would have been carried out with such exemplary promptitude and success. The new gardener was very anxious to chop down a certain number of trees. I yielded in one case; but held out in the others. He struck me as being intelligent and keen; but his accent is fearfully and wonderfully made.

As regards the exterior *dalans*, I am not of course aware of the evidence upon which the belief in their original existence is based. If they were there, I quite agree that it would be a good thing to restore them. But inasmuch as this will cost a lot of money, and as not one person in a thousand proceeds beyond the main entrance to the Taj, it is a work which I should place in the secondary class, and the execution of which I should be inclined to postpone to other and much more important work at Sikandra, in the Fort and elsewhere. Reconstruction must always be secondary to restoration.

I went to the Diwan-i-Am in the Fort. Whatever may have been the original condition of the pillars, walls, arches, and ceiling, as regards stucco, paint, or gilding, I am afraid that when the place was renovated for the Prince of Wales in 1876, the whole of the seventeenth century work was removed, and that there is nothing upon the red sandstone but the vulgar and perishable nineteenth century plaster. This is already peeling off fast. I tested a good many columns, and could find no trace of earlier stucco below it. I suggested, therefore, that a few pillars and arches should be picked clean ; and that from the success or failure of this experiment a decision should be arrived at as to the remainder. One or two of the outer columns are shaky, and might have to be replaced. Some of the bases might require renovation. But I incline to think that the job might be done at no great cost, and without injury to the whole building.

And now as regards the tomb of Akbar, I received your telegram. But I am sorry to say that the newspaper correspondent was quite right. For Holderness went there on his way up from Guzerat ; and he found the platform torn up ; the red sandstone sockets for the supports of the new canopy already either inserted or about to be inserted ; and the framework of the covering constructed in a manner eminently characteristic of the Public Works Department, and irresistibly suggesting the support of a corrugated iron roof. I hope that you will drop heavily upon this incorrigible piece of vandalism, of which the Commissioner seems never to have been informed. Of course the marble flooring must be replaced. The supports or pillars to hold the canopy must be placed in movable sockets of wood, lead, or iron ; the canopy must be made of wood or some suitable material of a becoming shape and design ; and the whole thing must be removed every year when the rains are over.

11. Letter from Sir A. P. MacDonnell, dated 31st August 1900, on restoration of Buildings at Agra.

I had written thus far when Your Excellency's letter of the 28th came in. I am very glad that you are pleased with what has been done at Agra in execu-

tion of your orders. The performances of the Engineer in charge of the Sikandra buildings are most annoying ; and I have expressed my dissatisfaction : I enclose for Your Excellency's information a note by Mr. Odling, the Chief Engineer, explaining the business. All injury done has been repaired.

Mr. Impey tells me that he has discovered an old plan of the Taj enclosure (date not given), which shows the *dalans* extending all round the outside enclosure. I am asking for a copy of the plan. I quite agree with Your Excellency that our object should be maintenance and not reconstruction : but I am anxious to know when the *dalans* were destroyed. If they were destroyed by English vandals in this century, perhaps some responsibility to restore may rest upon us.

I have been looking through Bernier's Travels, and at the end of his letter to M. de la Mothe le Vayer (written in 1663, Aurungzeb's reign), I find an interesting description of the Taj enclosure. He writes that the main entrance was flanked "by two reservoirs faced with hewn stone." I understand him to mean the great gate, up to which you drive, within the first or outer enclosure, round which the *dalans* were. That gate is now flanked on either side by a smooth gravelled space. Would you like me to excavate and see whether the reservoirs exist ? If they do, and are water-tight, I could fill them from the Park Canal. According to Bernier, the site on which you have had the cypresses planted was "a walk or terrace wide enough to admit six coaches abreast, paved with large and hard square stones, and raised about eight French feet above the garden, and divided the whole length by a canal faced with hewn stone, and ornamented with fountains placed at certain intervals." The canal is the only thing that remains of this description. When the causeway existed, it must have been level with the floor of the great gate and Entrance Pavilion. I doubt the effect was better than that given by the existing arrangement.

Bernier also says that "to the right and left of the dome (*i.e.*, the Taj ?), on a lower surface, you observe several garden walks, and many parterres full of flowers." I doubt whether Bernier's description is quite accurate ; for the spaces between the raised platform on which the dome stands, and the flanking mosques are paved with red sandstone slabs, apparently of great antiquity, and contain reservoirs of water such as all mosques have for the ablutions of the devout. I have never seen a mosque with a flower garden in front of it. I think Bernier must mean the plots which are still kept as gardens. His mention of parterres of flowers is conclusive that flowers were not excluded from the Taj Gardens in Aurungzeb's time. I wish he had told us what flowers were grown.

I will see that your wishes in regard to the Diwan-i-Am in the Fort are attended to. I spoke, when at Agra, to the Chief Engineer about the outer columns, which are in a shaky condition. He seemed to think that any substantial restoration would involve dismantling a large portion of the building.

12. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. P. MacDonnell, dated 13th October 1900, on restoration of Taj Gardens.

I have a copy of Bernier's Travels : and his testimony which you quote, to the existence of two reservoirs outside the gateway, certainly renders it worth while, in my opinion, to make an excavation on the site. I would not, however, on any account interfere with the big tree exactly opposite the gate. Have you a copy of Sleeman's Rambles ? He visited the Taj in 1836, and this is what he said of the garden—

“ The whole area is laid out in square parterres planted with flowers and shrubs in the centre, and with fine trees, chiefly the cypress, all round the borders, forming an avenue to every road. These roads are all paved with slabs of freestone, and have, running along the centre, a basin, with a row of *jets d'eau* in the middle from one extremity to the other.”

I think he must be referring to the central causeway only : or possibly to the cross one also in the middle, though I cannot recollect the existence of a water-channel in the latter. A reference to the same volume will show you that we are not innovators in respect of the covering of Akbar's cenotaph ; for Sleeman, when he saw it, wrote—

“ It is covered by an awning, not to protect the tomb, but to defend the ‘ words of God ’ from the rain, as my cicerone assured me.”

13. Letter (Extract) from Sir A. P. MacDonnell, dated 19th October 1900, on restorations at Agra.

I should be sorry if you thought that I was not with you in the changes you have ordered to be introduced in the Taj Garden. I think the changes are all for the better. I had some doubt about planting the cypresses so close ; but that is a matter which can be easily attended to in later years. From Bernier's description, there is, I fancy, no doubt that, originally, a causeway extended from the entrance gate to the Tomb, similar in all respects, except one, to the causeway which runs from the gateway to Akbar's Tomb at Sikandra. The point of difference is that the causeway at the Taj was divided along its length by a water-channel. In my opinion, the present arrangement of a green sward is infinitely to be preferred. I shall spend a day at Agra next month, and also a day at Fatehpur-Sikri, to assure myself that our money is being well laid out. In one of your notes Your Excellency expressed a wish that the minarets flanking the entrance gateway at Sikandra should be thoroughly repaired. Some doubt has been expressed by certain writers whether these minarets had been ever

finished. Fergusson's text may be interpreted as supporting that doubt. But, for my own part, I think the weight of evidence lies the other way ; and that the popular belief is true that the Jats of Bhurtpur injured the minarets when they took Agra in 1764. I have lately come across a passage from the "Tuzak," or autobiography of Jahangir, in which he says that he caused to be built "the stupendous gateway comprising minarets of white marble," giving access to the Tomb. We know that Akbar left his mausoleum unfinished, and we know that his son, Jahangir, continued the work. I think we must conclude that the Emperor was not exaggerating when he said that he had the minarets built, *i.e.*, finished. I have asked for an estimate of the repairs ; but I fear the cost will be more than I can bear. It will not be less than a lakh. As our policy has been to *conserve*, and as the injury had been done before British rule was established, it is an administrative question whether we ought to *restore*. On this I should be glad to be favoured with Your Excellency's view.

14. Letter from Sir J. D. LaTouche, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 13th December 1901, on restoration of pillars of the Diwan-i-Am and Anguri Bagh.

Mr. Nightingale, after visiting Agra, has reported his conclusion that the sandstone pillars of the Diwan-i-Am and of the Anguri Bagh were originally covered with plaster. Mr. Odling, who came to see me on his way to Calcutta, was of the same opinion. The work of stripping the plaster has been stopped, and the matter will now be referred officially for Your Excellency's orders. Meanwhile I give a brief account of the present state of the case.

Your Excellency's orders of December 1899 have the following reference to the Diwan-i-Am : "It is now almost entirely covered with plaster, whitewashed, and, in some places, I think, coloured. The whole of this plaster appears to be modern, the last coating having been put on for the Prince of Wales' Durbar, which was held there in 1876. It should be stripped off, and the Diwan-i-Am should be restored to its original appearance, *i.e.*, red sandstone columns and walls."

I do not myself remember the building known as the Anguri Bagh, and there is no reference to it in Your Excellency's notes and orders.

Sir Antony MacDonnell visited Agra in July 1901, and, on the 3rd August 1901, Mr. Smith, in connection with His Honour's recent visit, requested orders regarding the Diwan-i-Am, whether it was to be stripped of plaster ; and if so, should the four angle columns at the two ends of the building be rebuilt, and whether the stone work generally should be re-chiselled. On this Sir Antony MacDonnell's order was : "The pillars are to be stripped and re-chiselled so far as is safe, all except the corner pillars which it would be dangerous to strip."

One pillar had been stripped before Sir Antony's visit. One bay has now been stripped of plaster. It was with great difficulty that the plaster was removed. Mr. Nightingale writes that the exposed sandstone is of the roughest description. To re-chisel it would probably cause the collapse of the entire building. Besides this the four pillars at the outer course are braced and held together by iron bands, and cannot be stripped. It would be very incongruous to leave these eight pillars plastered and the rest of the building unplastered.

I have not had an opportunity of forming an opinion myself, but now that the Prince of Wales' whitewash has been removed, there seems a consensus of opinion that the rough sandstone was originally covered with plaster.

Other work Mr. Nightingale reports to be going on satisfactorily. But I have instructed him not to undertake any new work under the supervision of the Public Works Department. That Department has not been very successful in restoration in the past, and I understand that Your Excellency would prefer to await the appointment of Mr. Smith's successor.

15. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 16th December 1901, on restoration of Buildings at Agra.*

I have been somewhat disquieted by the recent statements in the *Pioneer* about over-restoration at Agra. Mr. Smith was a very zealous little man. But he had not much knowledge of art, and he perpetrated several horrors which on the occasion of my two visits to Agra I successfully arrested. As regards the Anguri Bagh, I do not remember what or where it is. My instructions about the Diwan-i-Am were very clear and unmistakable. The pillars were plastered, whitewashed, and partially gilded, for the Prince of Wales' visit in 1875-76. I was anxious to find out what was their original state, *i.e.*, whether they were originally of plain red sandstone, or whether they had been subsequently plastered in Mogul or in post-Mogul days. About this there seemed to be some doubt. Some of the pillars showed traces of an earlier coating of plaster. Others did not. Accordingly I asked that one or two pillars in the corner should be scraped, and that I should be informed of the result. We were then to decide whether to proceed with the remainder or not. Since then I have heard nothing.

I see that the *Pioneer* is very vocal also about the restoration in the Jahangiri Mahal, and it may be that Smith has gone too far.

You will have to consider whom to appoint as his successor. It is very important that we should get a good man; for he is the practically unchecked custodian of the most priceless fabrics in Asia. I will try to pay another visit to Agra during the present year, and see what is going on.

I see that a correspondent in the *Pioneer* complains also of a serious and widening crack in the river face of the Taj platform. This should be enquired into.

I think that I saw some complaint, too, about the *Chini-ka-Roza*, a building in which I took a special interest, and which I ordered to be enclosed.

16. *Note by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 11th January 1902, on restoration of the Diwan-i-Am at Agra.*

There has been some misconception of my orders. I made a careful examination of a good many pillars in the Diwan-i-Am both in 1899 and in 1900, and found that on some there was clearly only one coating of plaster, that put on for the Prince of Wales' visit in 1875. On the other hand, there seemed upon others to be traces of a second or interior coat of plaster: and Sir A. MacDonnell subsequently reported to me that the Engineers were of opinion that this had at one time been coloured. Thereupon I suggested that one or two pillars should be scraped in order to ascertain the facts: and that, according to the experience so gained, the undertaking should be persevered with or stopped. No report was ever made to me upon this initial experiment; but Sir A. MacDonnell appears to have given orders for the complete stripping of all the pillars, except the insecure corner pillars.

This is the enterprise to which my attention was first called by the *Pioneer* and which I at once stopped by communication with Sir J. LaTouche.

I do not even now know how many pillars have been stripped. Since we cannot scrape the whole, and since a patchwork hall would clearly be worse even than the Prince of Wales' plaster, clearly what we want to know is whether the scraped pillars should be replastered so as to match the Prince of Wales' restoration, or whether it is possible to remove the latter, and replaster the whole, so as to bear any resemblance, to what is presumed to have been the original or at least the earlier plaster.

This might be asked of the North-Western Provinces Government, but no steps should be taken until fresh instructions have been received from us.

17. *Letter (Extract) from J. Malcolm, Esq., M.P., dated 18th January 1902, on restorations at Agra.*

I want to tell you too how splendidly the restorations are going on at Agra. It is very hard indeed to detect any difference whatever between the original workmanship and the execution of to-day, whether in the marble or paintings or

sandstone or Mother of Pearl (at Fatehpur-Sikri). And the pace they are working is exceedingly creditable too : it is impossible to believe that all the excavation and restoration at Fatehpur-Sikri should have only been begun three years ago. It does enormous credit to the overseers and the workmen alike.

I think the gardens are going to be a trouble to you though, and will you send for a photograph of the vine-garden in the Palace at Agra Fort ? You will see that hideous bunching in the middle overhead and the cutting of the line of sight down the middle of the pergola, caused by white stone props. They are now preparing to make another pergola at right angles to the existing one, and I am very much afraid that it may greatly blot out the sense of space in the quadrangle. Don't you think that it would be a nicer disposition of the vine to run it along in *espaliers* on either side of the paths and then (within the small enclosed gardens thus formed) to have a flower garden, an orchard, or a Roman garden as you think best. The Taj garden too is a little inclined to run riot : do you remember the gardens at the Alcazar in Seville : they are enclosed along the paved pathways by box or myrtle hedges some 3 or 4 feet high. I don't know whether that idea would commend itself to you for the Taj. Sikandra garden is very good—and so is Chini-ka-Roza : the lawns (unworried by tiresome little flower beds of no particular form or beauty) at the latter place set the building off to great advantage—and I think that Itmad-ud-Daulah would look even more magnificent in such a belting of unbroken green. But I must say that this garden is a good deal better—I should think—than when you wrote a damnable note on the margin of Caine's book.

Finally, on gardens, I believe you would find it a godsend for these classic places of this particular style to have a Dutch gardener by your side. The gardeners who laid out the Spanish gardens were mainly Dutchmen—and there must be some now—either at the Hague or in Seville or Grenada—who know the traditions and would be willing to come out.

The painting restorations are being *beautifully* done at Sikandra on the walls of the hall just outside the *ground floor* mausoleum. But I notice in many places the paint is bulging and peeling off already, which looks as though the surface on which the paint is laid had not been sufficiently carefully prepared. I hope it doesn't bore you to get these notes from me. I am enormously interested in all I see and some of my observations may perhaps help you.

18. ORDERS PASSED BY VICEROY ON HIS VISIT TO AGRA ON 18TH APRIL 1902.

The Taj.

1. *Saheli Burj No. 4 (opposite the Fatehpuri Mosque outside the west gate).*—The raised platform to be paved with red sandstone ; cost to be first ascertained.

2. *Saheli Burj No. 4 and the Fatehpuri Mosque*.—His Excellency considered that the palms in tubs under the cloisters were out of place, and should be removed.

3. *Saheli Burj No. 1 (in the south-west corner of the Quadrangle)*.—Broken pieces of stone lying about the remains of the cloisters in the extreme south-west corner are unsightly, and should be removed.

4. *Saheli Burj No. 1 (in the south-west corner of the Quadrangle)*.—His Excellency thought that the platform in front of this *burj* should be grassed, if possible, and ordered that the question be borne in mind.

5. *The Quadrangle*.—Broken dripstones on the cloisters to be repaired.

6. *The Sirhi Darwaza (the south gate of the Quadrangle)*.—The approach road to this gate inside the Quadrangle neither corresponds in width to that of the steps nor to any other feature of the gate. The road should either be made narrower to correspond with the steps, or wider to correspond with the central portion of the gateway. The latter appeared to be the better solution.

7. *The Taj Garden*.—His Excellency did not like the row of stiff palms along the edge of the main causeway on the left hand (west) side, just inside the entrance gate.

His Excellency gave orders to Mr. Griessen, the Superintendent of the gardens, as to the treatment of the trees and shrubs bordering the main causeway leading from the entrance gate up to the Taj Mausoleum. As regards the removal of three trees, His Excellency directed that the big tree nearest to the entrance was to be removed first, and the Lieutenant-Governor promised to visit the Taj later in the summer, and decide whether the two others should also go.

8. The palms in tubs under the cloisters around the gardens are to be removed.

9. *The Pavilions in the east and west walls*.—His Excellency noticed a piece of red sandstone lattice panel lying near the west pavilion, and ordered that it be repaired and replaced in the niche in the back wall of the pavilion on the upper floor, from where it originally came, and also that a similar lattice panel be placed in the corresponding niche in the east pavilion.

The unsightly iron-barred doors of the two pavilions are to be replaced by wooden doors in keeping with the structures.

10. His Excellency noticed the stone tablets which have lately been placed

I am afraid that this will mean the substitution of entirely new blocks of red sandstone, not the mere filling in of the holes cut for the present tablets. This, however, must be decided on the spot.

CURZON.

on certain buildings by order of the Local Government to record the fact that restoration was carried out by order of the Local Government in such and such a year. His Excellency disapproved of these tablets as

unsightly and unnecessary, and ordered that they be all removed at once, and the places where they have been fixed restored to their original state.

11. His Excellency observed cobwebs on the staircase of the west pavilion and ordered that the Public Works Department should take such steps as may be required to keep the buildings free from such disfigurement.

12. *The east to west Central Causeway.*—His Excellency ordered that this be restored to its original state, which was similar to the main causeway. The points in which the existing causeway, as sketched in figure 1 is untrue to the original

* Not printed.

as depicted in figure 2 (see sketches* accompanying) are—

1st.—The original strip of ornamental water in the centre has been filled up with soil, grassed, and planted with palms at intervals.

2nd.—The narrow paved walk on the south side of the above has been widened to about 8 feet in order to cover an irrigation pipe, and the symmetry of the causeway is spoilt thereby.

The palms and soil are to be removed, and the ornamental water restored; the paved walk is to be reduced to its original width of 5 feet, and the irrigation pipes laid elsewhere.

13. *The east to west Central Causeway.*—The continuity of the flower bed strips with the tesselated pattern is broken in four places by iron trellises, which have been erected right across them and are now covered with thick creepers.

His Excellency ordered the removal of these trellises.

14. *The east to west Central Causeway.*—An iron trellis with stone uprights has been erected along the edge of the paved walk at AA (see general plan). This is to be removed.

15. *The east to west Central Causeway.*—The continuity of the causeway is also broken by paved walks which have been laid in recent times across the tesselated flower beds and the central strip of grass to make the north and south walks continuous (see BB on general plan).

No such crossings exist on the main causeway, and, as they are evidently a modern addition, His Excellency ordered the removal of them.

16. *Marble Tank in the centre of the Garden.*—After examining an interesting old plan of the Taj Garden, His Excellency ordered that the existing grass plots around the central tank be done away with and replaced by the original ornamental water.

(Referring to the general plan on which green represents grass, and blue water, the present conditions are shown on the east side, and the original condition, now to be restored, is shown on the west.)

17. *Main Causeway*.—His Excellency ordered that the trellis work arcades at CC (on the general plan) be removed.

18. His Excellency noticed that the marble inlay of the battlements on the top of the garden wall has disappeared in many places, and ordered that it is to be restored.

19. His Excellency inspected the Taj Mosque and the *Jawab*, or corresponding building on the east side, and ordered that the restoration of the latter be undertaken, under the instructions of the Director General of Archæology, after the restoration of the mosque, which is now in hand, is finished.

20. The grass plot in the south-east corner of the garden is intersected by straight paths, and part of the plots is enclosed with shrubs, behind which dead leaves are collected for mould.

His Excellency ordered that the straight paths be done away with, and replaced by grass, and also that the dead leaves be in future taken outside the enclosure, to admit of which an old doorway in the corner of the cloisters is to be unblocked, as has already been done in the south-west corner.

21. *Museum*.—His Excellency ordered the institution of a small museum in the entrance gateway, in which old plans of the Taj and other interesting relics are to be collected.

The Fort.

* This does not mean that the building is to be replastered or repainted throughout. It is too late now to reproduce the original plastering with its crimson and gilt lines. That ought to have been done in 1875. All that we can now do is to clean the surface as restored in that year and to restore the parts that have been scraped to the same condition.

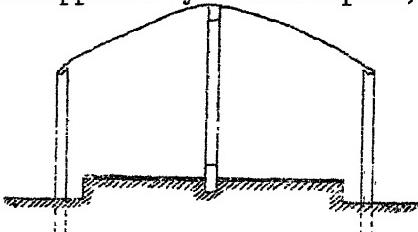
CURZON.

22. *Diwan-i-Am*.—Replace the plaster where it has been recently removed under the impression that the original pillars were of plain red sandstone.

Clean the building, and generally restore it to what it was at the time of King Edward the Seventh's (then Prince of Wales) visit to India in 1876.*

23. *Diwan-i-Am Quadrangle*.—Scrape off plaster and whitewash on the cloisters around the quadrangle, and reface with red sandstone where the original stone has decayed or disappeared.

24. *The Anguri Bagh*.—The existing vine trellis forming an arcade over the marble-paved walks and supported by sandstone posts, thus—



† It forms no part of the original design or horticultural plan. Indeed, the garden seems to have been called the vine garden, not because vines were grown there, but from a sculptured vine round one of the pillars.

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The Superintendent of the garden is to get rid of the existing common shrubs and flowers, remove old water courses, and grass the whole garden, putting in flowers or ornamental shrubs here and there where they seem to be desirable.* ; he will also try the experiment of growing vines on a low espalier along the edges of the marblepaved walks.

* I did not issue orders as to whether water should be kept in any of the patterned tanks, all of which would appear to have once been so filled. This must be decided on the spot, and will probably depend upon whether water is wanted or not for watering purposes.

CURZON.

25. *The Anguri Bagh*.—Repair with plain plaster the places where the original plaster has been stripped from the walls and pillars in the halls on the south side of the garden.

26. *So-called Somnath Gates*.†—Take out all bits of new wood with which the gates have been patched on the front, and where bare patches are left, stain them.

† As I said, these gates were never within many hundred miles of Somnath, and are comparatively late Muhammadan gates from a mosque at Ghazni.

CURZON.

Cover the holes by placing neat pieces of wood *at the back*, stained to the colour of the old wood work. The approval of the Director General of Archaeology to be obtained as the work proceeds.

When this work is finished, a door should be put into the front of the glazed enclosure instead of the side door, by which one can barely squeeze in to see the front of the gates.

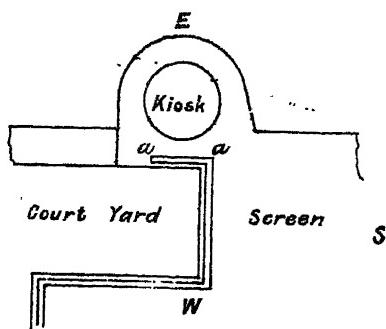
27. *Jahangiri Mahal*.—His Excellency strongly disapproved of the attempted

reproduction of the painted fresco on the parapet over the west façade facing the inner court, and ordered the removal of the painted plaster.‡

CURZON.

The Director General is to be consulted as to the finishing off of the parapet.

28. *Jahangiri Mahal*.—The red sandstone *pardah* screen around the top of the building on the river side, which has lately been restored, is returned at the south end, as shown in the sketch, but not at the north end.



His Excellency ordered that, when the rebuilding of the Kiosk at the south end has been completed, the Director General should be consulted as to whether the return portion, aa, of the screen should not be removed.

29. *Jahangiri Mahal*—east, or river facade.—This façade, which is part of the inner wall of the fort, was in a state of ruin, and is now being thoroughly restored. A photograph was taken before restoration was commenced, and a drawing made of the façade up to a certain height, but no evidence was found to show what was the original design of the top of the façade. From the existence of a doorway in the tower at the south end, with two steps on the outside, it is reasonable to suppose that there was an uncovered way along the top of the façade, for the thickness of the wall is not sufficient for a covered way; and this supposition is borne out by the carved pattern on the tower at this level, which is that which is commonly used for tops of walls and parapets, called "Kangra." On this supposition, a small piece of the façade was finished off with a view to obtaining His Excellency's orders thereon.

His Excellency ordered (a) that the façade should be finished off with a solid outer parapet of the same "Kangra" pattern as exists on the tower; (b) that the low "jali" balustrade suggested for the inner edge of the uncovered way along the top of the wall is unnecessary, and should not be erected; (c) that it is not necessary to have a "jali" balustrade along the balcony at the level of the courtyard.

30. *Saman Burj* or *Jasmine Tower*.—His Excellency thought that the red sandstone, with which certain bays of the Kiosk have been filled in, should be replaced by white marble as in the other bays, and that the marble balustrade should be restored as shown in existing photographs.

31. *Machhi Bhawan*.—His Excellency thought that something should be done, if possible, to keep the grass green. There is a well from which water can be obtained for the irrigation of this garden, of the Anguri Bagh, and of the Diwan-i-Am.

32. *Nagina Mosque*.—His Excellency strongly disapproved of the quality of the work in the two pieces of marble balustrade lately erected in front of mosque, and ordered that the contractor, who did the work, is to remove them, and produce a better imitation of the old work.

33. *The Inner Delhi Gate*.—Excellency ordered that no restoration of this gate is to be undertaken at present, & that on no account is an attempt to be made to replace the glazed tile ornamentation.

The Tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah.

The restoration of the frescoes in the entrance archway of the tomb—from which the vulgar paintings of some years back have been removed—stands over for consideration. The Director General must advise after another visit to the place later on. He must ascertain if it is possible to reproduce the original designs with fidelity and without desecration.

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34. His Excellency ordered that the question of bringing water to the four tanks in the platform of the Mausoleum, and to the channels around the building, should be gone into.

35. Repair the paved causeways around the Mausoleum.

36. An attempt should be made to expose some of the painted frescoes on the dado and roof of the bath under the pavilion on the river front, which are covered with mud and dirt. This must be done by very careful washing.

Chini-ka-Roza.

37. The Kiosk at the upstream end of the river front has been lately repaired, but His Excellency noticed that in one place, where a small piece of the thick plaster of the dome had fallen off, the hollow so caused had not been filled up, but only the edges repaired. The hollow is unsightly, and should be filled.

38. The finials at the four corners of the tomb appeared to His Excellency to be shaky, and he ordered that they should be examined and steps taken to prevent pieces coming away.

39. The name Chini-ka-Roza to be correctly spelt on sign posts.

The above is, to the best of my belief, a true statement of His Excellency's orders, which were taken down by me as they were given.

A. C. POLWHELE,

Executive Engineer,

Agra Provincial Division.

20th April 1902.

19. Letter from Viceroy, to Lord George Hamilton, dated 23rd April 1902, on restorations at Agra.

Since I wrote to you last week (from Agra), I have been very busy at work. The work that has been done there since my first visit as Viceroy nearly three years ago is really wonderful. Sir A. MacDonnell was very sympathetic to archaeological restoration, and his Government had plenty of money. The crimes of earlier vandals have one by one been obliterated; repair and renovation have, on the whole, been most judiciously applied; the whole of the principal mosques, tombs, etc., have been surrounded with exquisite gardens or parks; and, by the time that I leave India, I believe it may be said with truth that the Agra Monuments will be the best tended, just as they are also the best and most beautiful body of architectural remains in the world. I have supervised and given orders upon every single detail myself; for the local engineers who have to carry them out are destitute of the faintest artistic perception; and, if left to themselves, will perform horrors that make one alternately laugh and weep. In future I hope that Marshall, the Archaeologist whom you sent out to me, and by whom I have been quite favourably impressed, will relieve me of a good deal of this labour, and will supply the controlling and co-ordinating hand.

To give you an illustration of the way in which archaeology has hitherto been regarded by Local Governments, I may mention that the other day I wrote to Ampthill and asked him to consult Mr. Rea, the Madras Official Archaeologist, as to the preservation of an Asoka inscription. He answered that until that moment he had never heard of Mr. Rea, and that neither the Members of His Council nor his Chief Secretary were aware of his existence!

20. Letter from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 3rd April 1903, on prohibition of entertainments in the Taj at Agra.

I return the newspaper cutting which was given to me by Your Excellency, and forward a report on merry-making at the Taj from the Commissioner of Agra.

I have told Mr. Reynolds that in no circumstances should permission be given to convey articles of food and drink within the Gate, and I have approved his orders:—

- that the band should be on one of the plots near the Entrance Gate;
 - that the music selected should be suitable;
 - that shouting and noise should not be permitted.
-

Enclosure of No. 20:

Letter from H. W. W. Reynolds, Esq., to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 2nd April 1903.

I return the cutting from the *Pioneer* to which my attention was called when it appeared. The general rule drawn up by the Committee when Conybeare was Magistrate is that "no entertainments are permitted within the Taj enclosure, except of a public character, and after written permission received from the Committee with one week's previous notice. No articles of food or drink may be conveyed within the gates without permission."

Since I have been here, there have been four such entertainments—the Annual Flower Show, held at the end of February each year; and on three occasions the Colonel of the Staffordshire Regiment asked permission to have his band in the gardens after dinner.

The first occasion was at the full moon of May last when they played a suitable selection of music, and there was no noise made by the soldiers. The next occasion was that referred to in the cutting. I was out in camp at the time; but, on seeing the latter, I asked Cobb, and he reported that the selection of music left a good deal to be desired, and that the soldiers who had come to the Taj were making a noise, shouting to each other from the minarets.

This shouting occasionally occurs on any day, and is not always confined to soldiers, as I have heard natives doing the same.

Colonel Allen again asked permission in the following month, and Cobb asked my opinion.

The band is, I believe, appreciated by the residents, and I told him that I saw no objection to the band playing, provided a suitable selection of tunes was played; that the band played on one of the plots near the entrance gate, and not in those near the Taj; that no refreshments at all were allowed inside the enclosure; and that the officers put a stop to all shouting and noises on the part of the soldiers. I am told that on the third occasion it went off quietly and no one could possibly have been offended. Subject to these restrictions I do not think that there is any harm in allowing the band to play, and it is, I believe, appreciated by the residents of Agra, who certainly cannot be accused of want of respect to the Taj.

Should you think the rule I have quoted requires alteration, I will get the Committee to amend it.

21. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 30th May 1903, on the removal of powder from Agra Fort.*

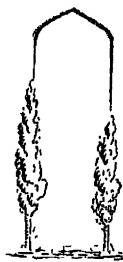
I have had the whole of the powder removed from the Agra Fort, and at last all those priceless buildings are safe, at any rate from the risk of explosion. The new Archæologist for your provinces (and Mogul buildings in general) has arrived, and has been up here.

22. Letter from E. B. Havell, Esq., Superintendent of Calcutta School of Arts, dated 5th November 1903, on the Taj Gardens.

I was lately at Agra and visited the Taj. I noticed that the line of cypress trees does not follow the old plan of the garden, and though they look very pretty now, as they are very small, the effect when they get larger will interfere very seriously with the architecture.

I am sending you a photograph to explain my meaning. The old line of trees was on the *outside* of the geometrical flower-beds. The trees in the photograph are not, perhaps, the original ones, but there is an artistic reason which convinces me absolutely that they are in the original line intended by the designers of the Taj.

You will notice that the end of the avenue of the old trees takes in a view of the most important features of the façade, and in a very beautiful way carries the eye up to the superb contour of the dome. I have shown this by a dotted line, I have also indicated the effect of the new avenue, which is now removed to the *centre* of the flower-beds, when the trees have grown to the same size. You will remark that the two end trees, which I have drawn in ink, will infringe directly upon the line of the central archway. This in itself is a bad fault. Then the end of the avenue takes in only the central archway and elongates the proportion of it in a very unpleasant way ; thus :—



The width of the avenue will look mean and narrow in proportion to the façade and the trees will eventually form a dense wall which will completely shut out the view of the principal features of the building from anyone standing between them. Looking from the Taj, the effect will be equally bad for the principal gateway.

Will you kindly submit this for the consideration of the Viceroy, who, I believe, is visiting Agra soon ?

I would also like to submit to His Excellency that the jungle of trees which at present mars the view of the Taj and shuts it out altogether from many points, should be considerably reduced, if not cleared away altogether. I think there is

no doubt that the cypress avenue was continued to the right and left of the central fountain, on the outside of the geometrical flower-beds, right up to the pavilions which are said to have been used as store-houses. Three of these trees are shown in the photograph. I have outlined them with ink. The rest of the garden was, I am sure, kept low, so that the whole fine composition of the tomb, the minarets, the mosques and the beautiful platform was not wholly or considerably hidden from any point of the garden.

At present the finest view of the Taj can only be had from the other side of the river where the trees do not obstruct the view.

The present jungle was planted chiefly, I should imagine, for the comfort of picnic parties by someone who had not the faintest idea that the old native gardens were planned as an integral part of the architectural composition.

I was very pleased to find that in the Anguri Bagh, in the fort, and gardens of the Itmad-ud-Daulah, all these disfigurements had been cleared away, doubtless by His Excellency's directions.

23. Letter from Viceroy, to the Right Hon'ble St. John Brodrick, M. P., Secretary of State for India, dated 17th December 1903, on restorations at Agra.

I have since spent 1½ days at Agra, superintending all the restorations that I have been carrying out there for the last five years, and that have now transformed it, I think, to the most beautifully kept and preserved, as well as the most beautiful collection of ancient buildings in the world. If you went back there, you would hardly recognize the place. What were then dusty wastes are now green parks and gardens ; neglected and half-tumbled down ruins are as perfect as on the day when they first left the builder's or mason's hand : we have trained our artificers to such a pitch that now at last they can faithfully reproduce the original work in marble, sandstone, and *pietra dura* : and we have in fact carried through a work that will always redound to the credit of the British name. It will take me about four to five years more to finish Agra ; and this done, it will be fit to attract the pilgrimage of the entire world. What we have done at Agra we are doing everywhere throughout India. I have in the course of the last five years visited and issued personal orders about every important group of buildings in the country, and I suppose that in that time the Local Governments and ourselves will have spent between us £80,000 to £100,000 upon archaeological repairs.

24. ORDERS PASSED BY VICEROY ON HIS VISIT TO AGRA ON 15TH AND 16TH DECEMBER 1903.

The Taj.

1. *Saheli Burj No. 4 (a).*—Scrape off the salty exudation from the sandstone facing of the wall near the foot of the steps to the platform and the whitewash in the archways of the Burj; remove the census number from the door, and obliterate the names scratched on the wall on each side of the doorway.

(b) Restore the sandstone balustrade on the north and west side of the platform similar to that on the south and east; around the north-west *chhatri* a balcony is to be reconstructed on brackets similar to that around the *chhatri* at the north-east corner.

2. *The Fatehpuri Musjid.*—Repair the broken top of one of the battlements on the north side; repair the stone paving of the floor of the musjid where the original paving has entirely disappeared.

3. *The approach to the west gateway of the Quadrangle.*—(a) Remove the ugly stone lamp post just outside the gateway, and the palms which have been planted on the lawns and slopes near the Fatehpuri Musjid and the Saheli Burj.

Plant a *nim* tree on the north side of the approach to correspond with that on the south side.

(b) Restore the tank adjoining the north wall of the musjid.

(c) Restore the stone causeway immediately above the tank and adjacent to the north wall of the musjid.

4. *The Colonnades (dalans) around the Quadrangle.*—(a) Floor the verandahs of the existing *dalans* with red sandstone.

(b) Rebuild by degrees the missing *dalans* along the approach to the east gateway and also at the east and west sides of the quadrangle along the edges of the Saheli Burj platforms.

5. *The Quadrangle.*—(a) Remove all palms, flower beds and rockeries in the quadrangle, and if it is necessary to have mounds around the large trees to cover unsightly roots, they should be grassed. Get rid of all the small trees which are out of keeping and plant *nims* to complete the row near the south wall.

(b) Remove raised terraces in front of the *dalans* on either side of the main entrance.

(c) Consider the question of providing suitable lamps for lighting the quadrangle, gateway, etc., and at the same time devise fitting posts to replace the heavy stone columns on which the present lamps are placed.

6. *Saheli Burj No. 1.*—(a) Restore the balustrade along the front of the raised platform.

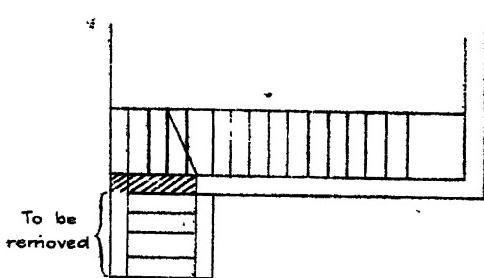
(b) Pave the part at the north end where houses once stood.

(c) When the garden has been laid out consider whether the ruins of the houses at the south end of the raised platform, which are an eyesore in this corner of the garden, should be pulled down or left as they are.

(d) The plaster on the north and west walls to be treated in the same way as that on the south wall of the quadrangle to assimilate with the original stone facing.

(e) The parterres in the garden should in the first instance be grassed and it may then be considered whether shrubs or flowers would be appropriate.

7. *Saheli Burj No. 2.*—(a) Restore the parapet and *chhajja* along the roof of the houses at the north end of the raised platform; an examination should be made of the modern brickwork beneath the *chhatri* at the south-east corner with a view to the restoration of the *chhatri*, at its proper level, if it proves to be ancient.



(b) Remove the lower steps of the staircase at the west end of the houses and build up the end wall so as to enclose the staircase entirely continuing the steps to the ground as shown in the sketch.

(c) Restore the balustrade along the front of the raised platform.

(d) Pave the portion of the raised platform at the south end where houses once stood.

(e) Restore gardens, tank, water-channels and paved walks in front of the Saheli Burj and get rid of the modern steps leading up to the platform from the quadrangle.

8. *The Taj garden.*—In order that the minarets and the marble domes of the mosque and *Jawab* may be better seen from the entrance to the garden, the following trees are to be removed:—

(a) The mahogany trees on each side of the main causeway in the vicinity of the central tank.

(b) One toddy palm on the right which partly hides the domes of the *Jawab* and two on the left which come in the line of view between the entrance and of the mosque.

(c) The large *pipal* tree which entirely obscures the view of the mosque from the gateway.

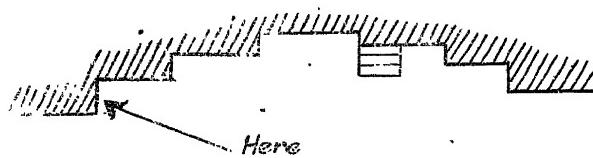
(d) The large *semal* tree beyond (c) which also helps to hide the domes of the mosque.

(e) The scraggy eucalyptus tree in the first plot on the left of the gateway.

Remove the palms along the edge of the main causeway in the first plot on the left near the gateway (the palm plot) and plant coniferæ to correspond with those on the opposite side. Get rid of the sandstone pedestals and capitals which are placed at the crossings of the side walks.

9. *The marble platform in the centre of the garden.*—Devise some suitable form of seat to replace the iron chairs on the marble platform; they will probably be best made of marble and should be placed on the four sides of the tank but not fixed.

10. *The Mosque.*—(a) Restore the damaged part of a sandstone panel on the left of the centre "mihrab."



(b) Repair patches of broken plaster.

(c) Get rid of the rockeries and rushes in the fountain basins in front of the Mosque and *Jawab* and restore the central fountain if it is found to have existed.

11. *The Mausoleum.*—Devise some sort of removable grating for the entrance to the vault which is at present dangerous. Strong perforated wood work will probably be found most appropriate for the purpose.

12. *Miscellaneous.*—(a) Repair broken panel of the sandstone balustrade near the foot of the marble steps up to the Mausoleum.

(b) Obliterate names on the walls.

(c) Repair the pavement at the south-east corner of the garden and provide a more suitable gate for the entrance in this corner (this is the working entrance to the garden). The archway over the gate should be of a suitable form and faced with stone.

The Fort.

13. *The Inner Delhi Gate.*—(a) Repair plaster of star pattern in spandril on left of archway outside so as to correspond with that on the right side.

(b) Military works numbers on this gateway to be placed in less conspicuous places.

14. *The Battlements*.—The Director General of Archaeology should consider the restoration of the battlements to their original form wherever the needs of defence do not prevent it.

15. *The Moti Musjid*.—(a) Get rid of the modern brick parapet at the edge of the steps leading up to the entrance and construct a balustrade of the original form if traceable, or devise a suitable pattern in stone if, as seems probable, the original cannot be traced.

(b) Try and assimilate the new patches of white marble to their surroundings either by discolouring the former or by cleaning the latter.

(c) See if there was not originally a marble parapet along the north and south ends of the roof of the Musjid where there are now plastered parapets.

(d) Put sandstone screens in the apertures under the Musjid facing the Tirpolia Bazar.

16. *The Diwan-i-Am Quadrangle*.—The low level portion at the north end where the old brick pavement has been exposed is to be grassed up to the edge of the pavement.

17. *The Diwan-i-Am*.—(a) One of the newly plastered pillars is to be painted with crimson and gold lines similar to the original. After seeing the effect of this His Excellency will give orders for the treatment of the remainder.

(b) Remove the placard "Diwan-i-Am."

18. *The Machhi Bhawan*.—(a) Remove the rockery around the pipal tree in the centre and if the roots are unsightly, cover them with a grassed mound.

(b) Repair gaps in the plaster work of the *dalans*.

19. *The Nagina Musjid*.—His Excellency thought that the carving of the white marble balustrade now being done by Natho Ram to replace his previous attempt was as good as could be got in India.

20. *The baths opposite the Diwan-i-Khas*.—Remove the painted hand and consider whether the bare brick wall facing the Diwan-i-Khas cannot be brought more into keeping with its surroundings.

21. *Saman Burj*.—(a) Get rid of common doors opening into the little court of the Saman Burj and replace them by neat wooden doors of suitable design.

(b) His Excellency thought that the red sandstone filling in certain bays of the kiosk might remain.

22. *The Anguri Bagh*.—Remove all the vines as at present planted around the four tanks which were in the three sides of the garden and also the middle of each plot and refill them with water. palms planted in the centre of each plot.

CURZON.

23. *The Khas Mahal*.—(a) A patch is required over the central arch on the right hand (south) side.

(b) Repair the marble ceiling where pieces have fallen out under the girders.

There is a full account in one of Mr. Cousens' reports (I think): probably a report on the Somnath temple.

CURZON.

24. *The so-called Somnath gate.*—(a) Remove the placard over the door of the enclosure and hang up a tablet on the inside giving a brief history of the gates.

(b) Repair the whole gate with plain patches flush with the general surface of the gate and stained to match the present colour of the old woodwork.

His Excellency approved of one such patch which had been put on as a specimen.

25. *The Jahangiri Mahal.*—(a) Plaster the projecting piece of wall (modern repair) at the north end of the court overlooking the river and colour red in the same way as the adjoining wall.

(b) Remove the piece of balustrade fixed on the top of the screen wall of this court as a suggestion of what might have been there originally.

(c) Take out the loose piece of stone in one of the openings of the high *purdah* screen on the roof.

(d) A solid red sandstone parapet to be built around the balcony of the south-east kiosk on which the "kangra" design of the parapet adjoining it on the south should be produced in relief.

(e) Lay out the plot of ground in front of the west façade of the Jahangiri Mahal with grass lawns and walks.

26. *The Salimgarh.*—When the casements around the Diwan-i-Am quadrangle have been removed, a staircase should be made up to the Salimgarh from the false gate opposite the entrance to the Anguri Bagh.

Sikandra.

27. *The Mausoleum.*—(a) A suitable hanging lamp should be provided over the tomb.

(b) Remove the iron gate at the inner end of the passage leading to the tomb and replace by suitable doors the two unsightly wooden doors which now close the outer entrance to this passage.

(c) A quilted cover should be provided to protect the cenotaph from the hot dustbearing winds and a suitable movable canopy to protect it from rain. The canopy might be of carved wood or in the form of a waterproof *shamiana* lined perhaps with crimson suitably draped.

28. *The West false gate.*—Restore the causeway leading to the Mausoleum where it has been cut through to make a driving road.

29. *The East false gate.*—Restore this gate completely by degrees except the paintings on plaster under the great archway which should not be attempted.

Restore the causeway leading to the Mausoleum and fill in gap where the road now cuts through it.

30. *The South gate*.—When other repairs have been done the restoration or completion of the four minarets, an important feature and integral part of the main entrance, should be considered, any ascertainable facts about their original or intended form being meanwhile collected.

A. C. POLWHELE,
Divisional Engineer,

19th December 1903.

Agra Provincial Division.

25. *Letter from R. G. Goodman, Esq., Kensington, dated 20th February 1904, on the Taj Gardens.*

I have been painting in India for five months and amongst other places worked at Agra, and knowing the great interest you take in the matter, take the liberty of suggesting that something should be done in the gardens, to enable a view or vista of the Taj being obtained from the south-east and south-west corners of the grounds.

It is a thousand pities that it can at present *only* be seen properly from the front.

To point my remarks there is a spot on the right of the entrance, from a grass plot where *part* of the building can be seen framed by magnificent trees, if enough foliage on tree near the building was removed to enable one to see the central arch, this would be a glorious view.

It seems to be a great pity that the trees—most of them—on each side of the central avenue are not more decorative in shape, a little pruning would do much, but probably there are many other kinds of trees—principally Indian—more decorative in shape and suitable as a setting. The young trees recently planted are perfect.

26. *Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 28th January 1905. Uniform of Khadims of the Taj.*

I was talking last night to a competent authority who had just been visiting Agra. He told me that the custodians of the tomb at the Taj still wear very dingy garments—he thought that they should wear the traditional garb of the Mogul days—and, what is worse, that they still carry those abominable lamps.

Do you remember that once when we were there together I drew attention to these, and orders were given that a new design was to be prepared? Nothing has apparently been done. Could you look into it?

27. Letter (Extract) from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 1st February 1905. Uniform of Khadims of the Taj.

In Your Excellency's letter of 28th January three questions are asked about matters at Agra. First, as regards the uniform of the *Khadims* of the Taj. It was settled that these hereditary servants, 18 in number, should wear white suits with a green scarf and a badge. For the cold weather they receive a woollen jersey to wear under their white suits. When I visited the Taj last July the men were certainly clean and neat. I fancy, however, that in the cold weather they wear dingy overclothing, and perhaps this is not unnatural, for this year the cold has been excessive. We give them no cold weather garments. I enclose a letter from Mr. Reynolds which gives further details, and I am writing to ask him to propose a pattern of warm livery to be given to each *Khadim* at the beginning of the cold weather. For the hot weather and rains, white is the best garb. It is what Akbar himself always wore.

Enclosure of No. 27 :

Letter from H. W. W. Reynolds, Esq., dated 31st January 1905.

The *Khadims* at the Taj (18 in number) are provided with two white suits of clothes every year, and when on duty they wear this and the green cloth scarf and chaprass that was prescribed. These men always look tidy. The clothing of the *Park* chaprassis was in bad order lately but about three weeks ago they were provided with fresh clothes.

If the men that the Viceroy writes about were at the Taj itself, I can only imagine that they were some of the *Khadims* off duty or more probably some outsiders—Muhammadans of Tajganj. I have occasionally noticed some of these men hanging about on the chance probably of getting presents from visitors, and I should not be surprised to hear that the *Khadims* connive at their presence and share the proceeds of what they get.

You know how the *Khadims* used to pester visitors, and now that we are strict about this their income from perquisites has fallen.

I forgot to say that the *Khadims* have a jersey every other year to wear under their white clothes in the cold weather, but this is not a popular arrangement, and for next year I shall propose a warm livery for them.

28. ORDERS PASSED BY VICEROY ON HIS VISIT TO AGRA ON 4TH AND 5TH APRIL 1905.

The Taj and surroundings.

1. *Quadrangle*.—In an old drawing of the quadrangle and main gate of the Taj made by Daniells about 1796, the *dalans* flanking the gate are shown with flame shaped battlements, which now exist only for a short space on either side of the gate. His Excellency was of opinion that the drawing in question might be incorrect—having probably been roughed out on the spot and faired in afterwards,—and he decided therefore not to add the battlements.

2. *Museum*.—(a) Endeavours should be made to obtain more photographs of

* I have done this myself and will forward interest, and, to this end, all the principal the results to the Commissioner. photographers in India should be addressed.*

CURZON.

(b) The leading local Art dealers should be induced to take an interest in the Museum, and asked to bring to the notice of the authorities any articles of interest in connection with the Taj which they may come across in the course of their business.

(c) The inlaid marble columns now lying outside the Museum which have no connection with the Taj or neighbouring buildings, and can never have been erected there, should be deposited in some suitable place in the Fort, together with the brackets now lying in the Anguri Bagh, and any other movable antiquities that are lying about there.

(d) The photograph of the Taj presented by Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd should be set in a plain wooden or light coloured frame, instead of the present black and gilt one.

(e) Neat and suitable titles should be attached at once to the old drawings and other exhibits in the Museum, so that their origin may not be forgotten. These titles should be written by the Director General of Archaeology.

3. *The Gateway*.—(a) His Excellency approved of the design of the model lamp hung up for his inspection, but thought it should be about one-third larger, and that it should be executed in bronze, not in brass or copper.

(b) The balustrade around the platform in front of the gate should be restored, and the steps reduced to their former size, if the original dimensions are not thought to be too small for the convenience of the public.

(c) Pieces of the stonework of the plinth which are much decayed, and a bad patch in the north-east turret, should be restored.

(d) Restore also missing bits of the white marble inlaid bands around the panels of the dado and a piece of marble inlay, which has fallen out of one of the corner shafts on the east face of the gateway.

(e) Remove a modern stone trough from the *dalan* on the south side of the gateway.

4. *The Garden*.—(a) Remove the casuarina tree which interferes with the view of the domes of the *jawab* from the entrance.

(b) Remove the two asok trees, one on each side of the central causeway close to the entrance.

(c) Remove the araucaria tree in the centre of the plot nearest the entrance on the south side.

(d) A scheme for the treatment of the 2nd plot from the gateway should be worked up. His Excellency does not approve of monotonous rows of trees of a uniform species.

(e) The pathway leading off the main causeway into plot 2 on the south side should be done away with and a tree planted at the edge of the causeway.

(f) Remove the clumps of sedges alternating with the fountains in the water-channels, which traverse the garden on both directions, and around the central tank.

(g) Remove the heavy blocks of stone containing the wash-out plugs at the extreme east and west ends of the channels in the main causeway, and fix wash-out valves or plugs below water level.

(h) All the modern green and white seats in the garden should be placed by others of a more suitable design ; those on the central platform might be of white marble and those in the gateway and on the red stone plinths around the Taj of red stone. Two sample seats should in the first instance be made—one with a low back and one without. The design for the latter should be taken from the seats commonly found in native palaces.

(i) His Excellency approved of the proposal to insert wooden gates with flat tops in the gateway in the south-east corner, and to fill in the tympanum with wood, so that both tympanum and gates together might present the appearance of two large gates.

(j) Near the pavilion in the centre of the north wall of the garden there are two unsightly masonry valve covers ; they should be removed, or, if they are required, they might be made more sightly.

(k) His Excellency thought that the *chatri* over the well was heavy and in bad taste. It should be dismantled and in its place a neat wooden or wire cover should be provided for the mouth of the well with an aperture large enough for the passage of the bucket, and a suitable carved sandstone balustrade should be put around it.

5. *The Mausoleum*.—(a) The question of providing a wooden grating or railing at the entrance to the crypt may be dropped.

(b) Suitable hand lamps for use inside the Mausoleum must be designed so that the aggressive hurricane lanterns now in use may be dispensed with as

* I propose to deal with this myself. soon as possible. The question of providing CURZON. suitable hanging lamps must also be kept in view.*

6. *The Jawab*.—(a) Paint out names scribbled on the walls.

(b) Slope off the top of the cornice on which pigeons build and roost, and at the same time repair broken pieces of plaster and stone.

7. *Saheli Burj No. 1*.—(a) Trees should be planted in each of the four grass plots; about three in each will be enough, but they should not be symmetrically arranged.

(b) The ruined fragments of buildings at the west end of the raised platform are to be removed after careful records have been made of them.

8. *Fatehpuri Musjid*.—Of the four kiosks on the towers at the corners of the Musjid the finials on two of them have been restored in sandstone while the other two are of marble. His Excellency thought they should all be of marble.

The Fort.

9. *Battlements*.—Owing to difficulties raised by the artillery officers on the spot, nothing definite was settled regarding the restoration of the battlements, but His Excellency remarked that he would write to the Defence Committee on the subject.

10. *The outer Delhi Gate*.—The plaster parapets are to be removed and the missing machicolations on the bastions flanking the gate to be restored.

11. *Old approach to Diwan-i-Am through Tirpolia Bazar*.—The question of

* I will go more closely into the matter on opening up this approach may be deferred the occasion of my next visit to Agra. for the present. His Excellency* was afraid CURZON. lest visitors approaching by the old road might miss seeing the Moti Musjid.

12. *The Moti Musjid*.—(a) Repair shot holes on the front of the mosque over one of the northern arches.

(b) Take out a bad patch of marble in the *mihrab*, and repair properly with inlaid bands of black marble.

(c) Restore the inlaid flowers of jasper and other coloured stones in the wall of the *mihrab*, which have at some time been imitated in coloured plaster.

(d) Get rid of white plaster pointing at the joints of the marble slabs.

(e) Restore old panels in the side *dalans* which were removed when the mosque was converted into a hospital. Those in the prayer-chamber may remain as they are.

13. *The Diwan-i-Am.*—(a) His Excellency's attention was drawn to the corner groups of columns, which are much out of plumb, and agreed to the proposal of the Chief Engineer to dismantle and rebuild them. It seems likely that the four columns in each group originally stood free, but, as the stability of the structures could not be ensured if they were restored in that way, it was determined to rebuild ; each group, as it now stands, is a solid mass. His Excellency noticed a few days later in the Diwan-i-Am at Delhi that the corner columns do not stand free, but are built up with solid blocks of sandstone. If this was their original form, and there seems no reason to believe otherwise, then the proposed restoration at Agra is supported by an ancient precedent.

(b) Better trees should be planted in the quadrangle when the lawns have been laid down.

(c) The floors of the *dalans* should be paved with brick similar to the platform in front of the Diwan-i-Am, and the back walls should be reduced as nearly as possible to a uniform colour.

(d) Remove the plaster from the parapets around the roof of the *dalans* on the west and north of the quadrangle, and tone down the new patches on the other sides. The back wall of the upper storey is to be left in its present state, but it would be a good thing if the mortar joints were slightly tucked.

(e) His Excellency did not come to any definite conclusion as to whether the two small paths joining the main road with the two blind gates on the west

* I think that my view was in the affirmative. But it will be settled next time.

CURZON.

side of the quadrangle, and corresponding to similar paths on the eastern side, should or should not be made.*

14. *The Diwan-i-Khas.*—The marble ceiling to be repaired where pieces of marble have broken off on the underside of the girders. His Excellency desired that this should be taken up as soon as possible.

The same order applies to the ceilings of the Saman Burj and the Khas Mahal.

† I should like the authenticity of this railing to be carefully examined. Havell (Agra, page 59) says : "An ugly modern marble rail, in imitation of wood, probably a reminiscence of the time when the palace was occupied by the British Garrison, still disfigures and stunts the proportions of the upper storey of the Saman Burj." Is he right or wrong ?

CURZON.

15. *The Saman Burj.*—Replace the piece of marble railing around the roof which has fallen, and continue the railing around the edge of the tower, as it is shown in old photographs.†

16. *Golden Pavilion.*—The top of one of the gilded finials on the roof of the north pavilion is gone ; it should be replaced.

17. *The Khas Mahal.*—A patch is required in one of the panels of the marble balustrade around the platform.

18. *Anguri Bagh*.—Restore the railings round the edge of the parterres, as indicated by the marks in the red sandstone paving. An example of the type of railing required is to be found in a garden in the Amber Palace near Jaipur.

19. *Jahangiri Mahal*.—(a) Restore missing bits of white marble inlay around the archway at the south end of the Court overlooking the river.

(b) Put up notices to the effect that the restored paintings in the Jahangiri Mahal are *attempts* at reproducing the originals made by the late Mr. E. W. Smith in such and such a year.

(c) Grass over the courtyard on the west of the palace and construct a carriage drive so that visitors can have their carriages waiting at the entrance of the Mahal. Also plant a thick-set hedge on the south side of the courtyard, which will screen off from view the quarters of the prison warder.

Tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulah.

(a) Replace a piece of marble which has fallen out of the border at the top of the dado in the centre room on the west side.

(b) Restore the water channels in the centre of the paved walks, in which grass is now growing.

(c) Restore the sandstone balustrades in the openings of the pavilion overlooking the river.

(d) Remove the trees growing in the water channel near the entrance gate, except the high palm.

(e) Remove the sandstone capitals used as steps in the entrance gateway.

Chini-ka-Roza.

(a) Restore the low stone plinth in the front of the tomb.

(b) Obliterate names on the walls.

Sikandra.

1. *Mausoleum*.—(a) Tone down the patch of new white plaster on the wall of the hall at the entrance to the tomb, and hang up a tablet similar to that in the Jahangiri Mahal, intimating that the new fresco paintings are attempts by the late Mr. E. W. Smith to reproduce the old work.

(b) On the south front of the Mausoleum the walls of the first storey have become discoloured by rain water from some of the spouts ; the walls are to be cleaned and recoloured, if necessary, and the defective spouts put right.

2. *The East false gate*.—Restore the west face excepting the plaster work under the archway.

3. *The South gate*.—(a) Restore the four minars.

(b) Restore the balustrade in the alcoves on each side of the entrance on both the north and south faces.

(c) Restore the balustrades in the alcoves on the interior of the gateway where *mutakkas* already exist, and remove the modern steps to these alcoves.

(d) Restore pieces of inlay, which have fallen out here and there.

(e) Cut away the earth slopes against the front of the platform outside the gateway, so as to expose the stone panels ; and improve the steps to the platform opposite the entrance.

A. C. POLWHELE,

Executive Engineer,

Agra Provincial Division.

10th April 1905.

29. *Letter from Viceroy, to Hon'ble Mr. E. N. Baker, C.S.I., Member of Viceroy's Council, dated 10th April 1905, on restoration of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra.*

Ever since I first visited Agra as Governor-General in 1899, and commenced the work of restoration there, I have been anxious to rebuild the tops of the four white marble minarets at the corners of the great gateway of the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra. These, as is well known, no longer exist, and the minarets are truncated and headless towers.

There has always been some doubt as to the history of the apparent mutilation. It is popularly attributed to the Jats of Bhurtpur who occupied Agra in the middle of the eighteenth century and sacked many of its buildings : though why they should have knocked off the tops of these minarets only, or, indeed, have knocked them off at all, it is not easy to explain. One story is that they were shot off by the Jat artillery, but that any such weapons should have demolished the four tops only seems curious. Another legend is that the minarets were never finished. But this is contradicted by the inscription on the gateway. I rather think that there is an earthquake theory too.

Anyhow the tops are not there ; and their absence is such an artistic eyesore that for years I have hoped for their restoration. Some doubt, however, was entertained as to the probable character and appearance of the vanished portions of the minarets. These doubts are resolved by a coloured drawing by Daniells, dated about 1795, which shows the minarets without their summits indeed, but a good deal taller than they are now, and carried almost up to the point at which the topmost balustrade and the final cupola above it must have commenced. We are therefore at length in a position to effect the restoration without further delay. Moreover, a large store of white Makrana marble has been

dug up in the Diwan-i-Am in the neighbouring Agra Fort—where it has doubtless reposed for centuries—and is available for the work of restoration.

The Local Government, however, cannot hope to undertake the task of restoration for some years. Their Archæological grant has had to be cut down during the forthcoming year in consequence of the recent destruction of crops in the United Provinces and the necessary remission of land revenue. Whatever Sir J. LaTouche can spare, he is going to devote to complete the *dalans* or arcade round the outer quadrangle of the Taj.

I should like the broken minarets at Sikandra to be restored during the present year, in time for the visit of the Prince of Wales. But this can only be done by a special grant. A rough estimate which Mr. Marshall has prepared shows that the work would probably cost about Rs. 46,000. We cannot spare this sum from the Archæological grant for the year.

It has occurred to me therefore that, on the analogy of the special Mandu grant, we might provide this sum as an exceptional case. If we can make a grant of Rs. 40,000 for a particular restoration in a Native State, is there any reason why we should not do it in British territory for an even more obvious need?

I confess, too, that I should like to see this job executed before I leave India. Otherwise it may languish or be forgotten. I submit therefore to the Hon'ble Member the question whether there is not here a good case or a special benefaction. It always seems to me rather hard that a Local Government should bear the greater part of the charge for the restoration and conservation of monuments that have a far more than local interest and are Imperial both in character and origin. If any Government is entitled to encouragement and assistance in this respect, it is the United Provinces; and I should be glad to think that we could offer them this slight boon.

If the money were sanctioned without delay there is good reason to think—the marble being almost *in situ*, and the work involving no high rate of artistic skill or delicacy—that the entire restoration of the four minarets could be completed within 8 months, and that when the Prince of Wales visits Sikandra in December, he may be able to see—what no one has seen for a century and a quarter—*viz.*, a perfect gateway to the finest of the Mogul Emperors' tombs.

30. *Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 10th April 1905, on restoration of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra.*

I return herewith His Excellency's note on Sikandra. Before leaving Agra I made a very careful examination of the tomb and found that the towers had been rebuilt at any rate from the top of the first storey, if not further. Much, too, of

the roof of the gateway with the battlements, etc., had been restored so that I felt some doubt as to whether the gateway had not in fact been bombarded at some time or other.

I have made a careful drawing of one of the towers and completed it as I imagine it to have been originally. This I send to you now, and should be very glad if I could have an opportunity of talking to His Excellency some time about it. There are a great many difficulties involved in the restoration owing to the extreme slimness of the towers, which may render it necessary to close in the stairways towards the summit. Another point is that the proportion suggested by Daniells' drawings will produce a hopelessly ugly design, and I have therefore departed from them to the extent of lengthening out the topmost storey.

The estimate for the work, which we have had prepared, amounts to Rs. 46,000, allowing Rs. 6,000 for the value of the marble in the Fort.

The chief "documentary" evidence referred to in His Excellency's letter (No. 29) is a Tughra inscription on the gateway.

31. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 14th April 1905, on restoration of Akbar's tomb at Sikandra.

You will hear officially that a sum of Rs. 46,000 has been sanctioned for the restoration of the marble minarets at the corners of the great gateway of the tomb of Akbar at Sikandra. The work can, therefore, be proceeded with at once. The Lieutenant-Governor is also being informed.

You will remember that the Viceroy, in examining your drawings, thought that the topmost storey, if not the one below it also, would admit of being somewhat heightened, and that if structural difficulties are involved there is no necessity to build an inner staircase to the summit.

I enclose a copy of His Excellency's note on the subject of the restoration of the towers.

32. Letter from Private Secretary, to Viceroy, to Hon'ble Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 25th April 1905, on the list of names and dates of Italians and other foreigners compiled from the tomb-stones in the old cemetery at Agra.

I am desired by His Excellency the Viceroy to invite your assistance upon two points:—

(1) It will be in your recollection that he discussed with you and the other officers the history and origin of the black slate reproduction of the metal finial

of the cupola of the Taj, that is let into the stone terrace. Either the Collector or yourself undertook to look up the records to see if this was really inserted by a British officer or not. The Viceroy would like to hear the results of these researches. At the same time His Excellency would like to have the details about the caste who are alleged to come once in 50 years to the Taj to take down and clean the finial, and who are supposed to inscribe their names upon it.

(2) His Excellency would also like an authentic list of the names and dates of any Italians or other foreigners, including Armenians, that can be recovered from the tombstones in the old cemetery at Agra—say from 1550 or 1600 to about 1660. His Excellency believes there are several, and their names may throw some light upon the question of the degree to which Italian artificers were employed by the Mogul Emperors.

33. *Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 29th April 1905, on the black marble reproduction of the finial of the Taj.*

In reply to your letter of April 25th, I have made inquiries here on the subject of the black marble reproduction of the finial of the Taj ; and Newal Kishore, the representative of the firm of Nathu Ram & Sons, tells me that he recollects well when the stones were inlaid, and he has shown me his letter-book from which I have made the accompanying copy.

I do not think that there is any doubt that I was rightly informed when I said that it was Mr. Baker who had these stones inlaid.

But Newal Kishore tells me that the outline was there before in the shape of a very shallow line chipped in the stone pavement, and that, as Mr. Baker thought that there was danger of the lines being very shortly worn away altogether, he had the present black marble inlaid.

I have no doubt that this is correct, for on going over the place I find several more such lines cut faintly in the stone pavement.

At the opposite end of the platform there are very clear outlines of the ground plan as viewed from above of the ornamental stone cap to the central dome of the Taj.

Inside the central bay of the *Jawab* there are similar lines cut in various directions, and I believe all are identifiable as being the outlines of portions of the upper parts of the Taj. The idea I find here is that these were the full-sized working models on which the builders cut and fitted the stones before they were taken up and put in their present positions.

I am making inquiries as to the other matters you ask about and will let you know the result of my inquiries in due course.

Enclosure of No. 33 :

Estimate by F. Baker, Esq., Magistrate, Agra, dated 21st June 1888, for making the Kalsa of the Taj in black marble.

	Rs.
138 feet work at Rs. 4 per foot	552
Labour in inlaying the stones at the Taj with fare of carriage	40
Grand Total ..	592

34. *Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 4th May 1905, on the details of the caste alleged to come to the Taj to clean the finial.*

In your letter of the 25th April you say that His Excellency would like details of the caste who are alleged to come once in 50 years to the Taj to take down and clean the finial.

So far we have been unable to get any news on the subject locally, but it will probably help us if you would kindly let me know where the Viceroy obtained the information referred to by you.

The lists of foreigners buried in the old cemeteries here are in course of preparation and will be sent to you shortly. The search has been productive of some distinctly interesting results.

35. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 5th May 1905, on the details of the caste alleged to come to the Taj to clean the finial.*

A short time ago the Viceroy asked Mr. Reynolds for details about the caste who are alleged to come once in 50 years to the Taj to take down and clean the finial, and who are supposed to inscribe their names upon it. Mr. Reynolds has said in reply that so far he has been unable to get any news on the subject locally,

and he asks where the Viceroy obtained the information incorporated in the first sentence of this letter. His Excellency tells me that you gave him the information. Will you please let me know whence you obtained it.

36. *Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 5th May 1905, on inscriptions on tombs in the old cemeteries at Agra.*

With regard to the second query in your letter of April 25th, I enclose a note by Pullan, the Assistant Magistrate here, who has been carefully through the tombs in the two old cemeteries here. The difficulty we have to deal with is that no one in Agra knows either Portuguese or Armenian, and it is not very easy to decipher half obliterated inscriptions when they are in an unknown tongue.

Enclosure of No. 36 : Note by A. G. P. Pullan, Esq., Assistant Magistrate, Agra, dated 4th May 1905.

In reference to His Excellency the Viceroy's request for an authentic list of names of foreigners buried in the old cemetery at Agra from 1550—1700, I beg to report that there are a great many tombs of that period, at least from 1600—1700. On all that I have seen, the inscriptions are in Portuguese and the majority of the names are also Portuguese. There are however three Italians, of whom the most important is Jeronimo Verroneo died 1640, said by Manrique to have been the designer of the Taj. I have unfortunately been unable to understand or completely decipher two inscriptions which I shall copy below as accurately as possible. These may both be important.

The following appear to be the most interesting inscriptions :—

- (1) AVSTINA
FALECEO (*i.e.*, died), date illegible. Could this be Austin of Bordeaux ?
- (2) LVCRECIA TAVARES
MORRIO AO 1660.
- (3) On one slab—
(a) GVLHELME DE GENEVA
30 DE MAIO 1614.
- (b) JOÁ DE MENDEN AL INGLES
10 DE JUNHO 1614.
- (4) JOÁ ALEMAN
MORIO 1619.

(5) ZERI FABANO

MORIE AOS 25 DE SEPT 1640.

(6) AQVI JAZ (HIE JACET) BASTIANA

1674.

* (7) AQVI JAZ IERONIMO VERONEO FALECEO EM LAHOR
2 DE AGOSTO DE 1640.

* (8) *Bernardino the Venetian*, whose inscription appears to read as follows :—

AQVI GIAZE IL QON-
DAM BERNARDINO IW
FEL VENEZIANO SRVR
GIOQ DL GRĀ RELMOEL
QVAL DEI E ETDETO
DA LA CORDI FOI MVI :
IO ESTIMADO POR SVE
CVRE FATE MOREO AOS
I DE AGOSTO NO ANNO 1628.

There was a large family of the name of Borges in Agra in the seventeenth century, the name occurring in Francisca Borges died 1614, and continuously till after 1700.

(9) On one slab are the following five tombs :—

* (a) AQVI TAZ DOM IOS

Dom Joseph Borges.

EPH BORGES CANA
LEYROPR—BESSO
DA ORDEM DE
XPR FALECEO EM
DELIA OS IX DE
JAN 1617 (?)

This inscription is difficult to read, and not quite certain, especially the date, but he is clearly the earliest of the five, which are for the rest in chronological order.

(b) Remarkable for its quaint lettering, is shown to belong to a man by the Qalm-dan
(On all these tombs this practice is carefully observed.)

AQVIESTA
SEPVLTADO
ANEVLA
OOIVEO
FELSEOOS
XI DE MAIO 1670

} in this I think FELSEO is a mis-spelling of "faleceo."
The L's are all written *L*, and the QL is unlike the OL in
aqui. Still I read the name Anecula Oqueo.

* (c) Hortenzio Bronzoni the Venetian. Clearly written. AQVIESTA SEPULTADO
HOR ENSIO BRONZONI VENECIANO FALECEO AOS II DE AGOSTO DO
ANNO 1670.

(d) The next name is Theresa Borges, date undecipherable.

The last—

(e) AQVI JAZO FRANCISCO BORGES FALECEO EM AMBALA E FOI SEP-PULTADO AOS 12 DE MAIO 1707.

There is also the headstone of Cypriano de Paris, but the date has sunk under the slab.

There are many tombs of priests especially in the Mausoleum known as the padré Santús, where lie Garcia and Danahaya, the martyrs of 1634, and many others. There is a large Armenian quarter, but I have been unable to find any one who can read the language at present.

In the old Protestant cemetery there are several old tombs of merchants.

JOAN TACK Opperkoppman Van Amboyna who died in 1663, his wife having preceded him in 1649.

Justini an Ofley, the agent of the English merchants, died 1627.

Purchas, an Englishman who died aged 20 at the same time and two other Dutchmen who died in 1679.

Mr. Nicholls is making tracings of the inscriptions on Bernardino and Dom Joseph Borges, which are practically the only ones I found bearing more than a mere name and date.

37. *Letter (Extract) from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 8th May 1905, on the details of the caste alleged to come to the Taj to clean the finial.*

I recollect that I obtained the information about the caste, who are alleged to turn up once in 50 years for the cleaning of the Taj finials from Mr. Hankin, the Government Bacteriologist at Agra. On what authority he gave it to me I cannot say.

38. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 9th May 1905, on the information about the caste alleged to come to the Taj to clean the finial.*

In your letter of the 4th May you asked me to let you know where the Viceroy obtained the information about the caste who are alleged to come once in 50 years to the Taj to take down and clean the finial. His Excellency's informant was Marshall, the Director General of Archaeology, who in his turn derived his information from Hankin, the Government Bacteriologist at Agra.

39. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir E. H. Egerton, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., British Legation, Rome, dated 9th May 1905, on employment of Italian artists by Mogul Emperors.

There was a little matter that I forgot to mention in my letter last week, and upon which I also desired to invoke your kind assistance. I alluded to the fact that Italian artists were employed by the Mogul Emperors, and notably by Shah Jahan (1628—1658) to build, or at least to decorate, their palaces and tombs (this was more particularly at Agra and Delhi). Tradition has preserved the names of some of these Italians, and the graves of others exist in this country. There has always, however, been a dispute as to the degree to which they were employed or were responsible for the origination of the Mogul designs.

A little while ago I heard that there were in existence at Florence records of the artificers who left there, either in the time of Shah Jahan or of his predecessor Jahangir, to work in India.

If such authentic information were procurable, it would throw invaluable light upon a debated and interesting point of history. I wonder if the Italian authorities could have the archives looked into for such information as may be procurable.

I should be most grateful if through your kind offices they would do so.

40. Letter (Extract) from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 12th May 1905, on the portrait of Shah Jahan.

We have to thank you too for the portrait of Shah Jahan, which His Honour has just sent me for the museum here.

41. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to E. Denison Ross, Esq., Ph. D., Trustee, Victoria Memorial, dated 18th May 1905, on the picture of Shah Jahan or Nur Mahal.

I am sorry you never received my letter about pictures for the Taj Museum. I mentioned the matter again to the Viceroy, and His Excellency would like you to take action in the matter. Will you, therefore, please consider whether there are not either in the Victoria Memorial Exhibition or in the School of Art Collection, any duplicate picture of Shah Jahan or Nur Mahal which would be suitable for the Taj Museum ? Also, apart from these two sources, you may perhaps

come across other portraits of that King and his wife in the course of your general researches.

42. Letter from E. D. Ross, Esq., dated 29th May 1905, on the portraits of Shah Jahan and Nur Mahal.

Your letter of the 18th May. I will do my best to procure, with the least possible delay, portraits of Shah Jahan and Nur Mahal, for the Taj Museum.

In the Art Gallery there is a miniature portrait of an old man which may very possibly be meant for Shah Jahan, but it bears no name.

At present we have in the Memorial Collection a small miniature on ivory of Nur Mahal, which was presented by Mrs. Aldam.

You may remember that the Nawab of Rampur promised His Excellency a very good painting of Shah Jahan which we saw in the Rampur Library, but I am under the impression that His Excellency accepted this picture for the Memorial.

43. Letter (Extract) from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 12th June 1905, on the photographs of the gates of the Somnath Temple.

His Excellency asked me a short time ago for the dimensions of the entrance to the Somnath Temple, and of the gates reputed to belong to it at Agra. I send two photographs of them. The size of the entrance in its present condition is $13' 6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8' 3''$. The inner slabs of the jambs and lintel, however, are missing, and with these in their place, the doorway would have measured about $12' \times 6'$. The size of the gates at Agra, including the ornamental framing, is $16' 10'' \times 13' 6''$ and of the actual doors $11' 1'' \times 9' \frac{1}{2}''$, so that even the latter are much too wide for the doorway of the Somnath Temple. The square shape of the Ghazni door is a fatal objection to its ever having fitted the entrance of a Hindu Temple.

44. Letter (Extract) from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 13th June 1905, on the photographs of the gates of the Somnath Temple.

His Excellency has kept the photographs relating to the Somnath Temple.

45. Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 29th July 1905, on the pathways at the Jahangiri Mahal.

You may remember that His Excellency gave instructions at Agra for the laying out of the ground in front of the west face of the Jahangiri Mahal. I am in some doubt as to what His Excellency's intentions were regarding the pathways, and I should therefore be very glad to know if he approves of either of the

* Not printed. accompanying plans.* The main objection to the circular path is that it is out of

keeping with Mogul ideas, while, on the other hand, the straight paths would be less convenient for carriages.

Would you be so good as to return the tracings?

46. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 31st July 1905, on the pathways at the Jahangiri Mahal.

Your letter of the 29th July about laying out the ground in front of the west face of the Jahangiri Mahal. The Viceroy thinks that, whether or not it is right according to Mogul ideas, the circular paths should certainly be adopted.

† Not printed. I return the tracings† as desired.

47. Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 1st August 1905, on the details of the caste alleged to come to the Taj to clean the finial.

You will probably recollect writing in April last to say that His Excellency the Viceroy would like to have the details about the caste who are alleged to come once in 50 years to the Taj to take down and clean the finial, and who are supposed to inscribe their names upon it.

Hankin, to whom I was referred for further information, has now returned, and from my inquiries it is clear how the mistake has occurred.

When Alexander was the Engineer here some ten years ago he told Hankin that every 50 years or so the finial has to be taken down and re-gilt.

In order to get it down a special set of men are employed for this work who, like the steeple-jacks at home, are adepts at working at these heights on buildings. They are known as "Bankattis," and a special gang of them is in the regular

employ of the Department of Public Works at Agra, and they climb all over the buildings here, clearing away grass, bees' nests, cobwebs, and such.

As their main work is to remove grass and young seedlings, such as *pipals*, from the buildings, they are known as "Bankattis," which merely means jungle-cutters. They are of all castes : Kumhars, Kachis, Garerias, etc.

I have very little doubt that Hankin thought the word was the name of a caste, and he cannot now recollect what was the word that Alexander used when telling him about cleaning the finial.

As to the names inscribed on the finial, I believe that the only names so inscribed are those of some Engineers in whose time the finial was once cleaned and replaced.

48. Letter (Extract) from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 7th August 1905, on restorations at Agra.

Your Excellency will, I think, be pleased with the archaeological work that is being done at Agra.

At the Taj the arcades along the east side of the Saheli Burj have been practically finished. They look extremely well, and the work is excellent.

In the fort the end pillars of the Diwan-i-Am have been taken down without any damage to the main structure, and are rapidly being rebuilt. The enclosure is ready for grassing, as is also the space in front of the Jahangiri Mahal. There is now little left of the old well and of its run.

At Sikandra there is a forest of scaffolding round the minars, and an army of stone-cutters at work. Mr. Oertel calculates that he will have finished the minars before the visit of the Prince of Wales. He has worked well, and has proved himself a worthy successor to Mr. Polwhele.

49. Letter (Extract) from Military Secretary to Viceroy, to the Secretary to the Defence Committee, dated 23rd October 1905, on battlements on the walls of Agra Fort.

I am desired by His Excellency the Viceroy to address the Defence Committee on a subject about which he has already spoken to His Excellency the President of the Committee, and which he would be greatly obliged if the Committee could dispose of, so as to enable the Viceroy to pass orders during his forthcoming final tour.

It relates to the now obsolete defences of the Delhi and Agra Forts.

In neither case does it appear in the least likely that the Fort would be held again by a European force in the event of a mutiny. The conditions of defence have therefore changed.

At Agra the main question at issue is that of the battlements on the top of the walls of the Fort, which have been shockingly pulled about and mutilated at intervals in the interests of Military defence. The Viceroy is anxious, wherever practicable, and if possible everywhere, to restore the flame-shaped battlements which were a feature of the original design, but which have been cut down or pared off or pierced with modern embrasures in a great many cases. I enclose a drawing (which please return when done with) showing the recommendations that were made for a partial restoration by Major Birch, B.A., in March last. When the Viceroy, however, visited the Fort in April the Artillery Officer in charge, who he believes, was Major Birch himself, represented that in his view there might with perfect safety be a much more extensive restoration. His Excellency the Viceroy made a most careful study of the subject: and he formed the impression that the battlements might everywhere be restored with safety. Unless the Defence Committee attach special value to the flat-topped bastions at some of the angles and gates.

In the case of the battlements on the curtain in general, should the Fort ever again be besieged, it seems certain that the inmates would surely knock down or pierce any of the battlements that obstructed their fire. It seems a pity, therefore, permanently to impair the external appearance of the Fort, with a view to a contingency which is in the highest degree unlikely to occur, and which could be met by rough and ready methods if it did.

His Excellency the Viceroy will be at Delhi on October 29—30th, November 1st, and at Agra on November 11—14th, and it would be a great satisfaction to him if the Defence Committee could consider the matter and favour him with their views at an anterior date.

50. Letter (Extract) from the Secretary to the Defence Committee, dated 27th October 1905, on battlements on the walls of Agra Fort.

1. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 23rd October 1905, regarding * * * the restoration of the flame-shaped battlements at Agra Fort.

* * * * *

5. With regard to Agra Fort the Defence Committee consider that they need raise no objection on defence grounds to the restoration of the flame-shaped bat-

tlements round the fort, provided the gun emplacements are maintained, and the battlements form a screen to them capable of being demolished should the fort ever be called on to resist an attack.

6. The tracing received with your letter under reply is returned herewith.
-

51. ORDERS PASSED BY VICEROY AT AGRA ON 12TH NOVEMBER 1905.

THE FORT.

Hatyā Paul.

1. The elephants, of which traces remain on the platforms on the west façade of the Hatya Paul, should be restored on the lines of those in a similar position at Delhi.

2. There is a statement in Thornhill's account of the Fort during the Mutiny that there used to be a gong on the summit of the Hatya Paul. A search should be made, and, if the gong can be traced, it should be restored to its position.

3. Replace the missing piece of stone beside the balcony over the gateway on the west side.

4. Consider whether the little windows in the bastions, filled with wire netting, can be restored to a uniform and unobtrusive shape.

5. Reset the loose stone, which is likely to fall from the lower part of the north bastion, on the west façade.

* *The Moti Musjid.*

6. Remove the latrine on the plot of ground north of the Moti Musjid.

7. The correct shape of the gnomon, which is missing from the sundial in the courtyard, should be ascertained, and the gnomon should be restored.

8. If, at any future date, water can be laid on to the Moti Musjid, the tank in the centre of the courtyard should be repaired and filled.

9. Restore the metal covers on the old doors in the Zenana prayer chambers following the design indicated by the existing nails; and provide a new door for the south chamber.

The Water-Gate.

10. Make a careful examination of the platforms and adjoining ground outside the gate, and ascertain if there are any traces of elephant statues having existed there, or if the name of Hatya Paul, sometimes also given to this gate, originated

only from the fresco of elephants in the spandrels of the arch. The whole question of these elephants will need to be examined by the Archaeological Department.

The Diwan-i-Am.

11. Place the marble platform in the Hall closer to the throne, at a distance of about eighteen inches from the wall face. In its present position it would have been impossible for petitions to be handed up to the Emperor by any one standing on the platform.

12. Remove the marble seat or foot stool from the *Jharoka* to some other chamber in the Palace, where it will be less obviously out of place.

13. Remove the modern partitions from the rooms adjoining the *Jharoka*, so as to restore the entrance by which the ladies of the court entered the apartments behind the grille.

14. Restore the red rail around the brick pavement in front of the Hall, using as a pattern the existing rail in the Lahore Fort.

15. The restoration of the marble balustrade along the edge of the alcove where the throne stood should be considered.

16. The old approach through the so-called Tirpolia Bazar should be opened up as soon as it can be arranged with the military authorities, and modern accretions cleared away from the flanking buildings ; but no attempt should be made to restore the latter on a large scale. When this restoration has taken place, sign posts will require to be put up at different places in order to guide visitors to this new entrance to the Moti Musjid, etc.

The Diwan-i-Khas.

17. The balustrade along the west front of the platform in front of the Diwan-i-Khas should be restored.

18. His Excellency was of opinion that the pavilion opposite the Diwan-i-Khas should be restored in plain white marble, the back wall being plastered with shell stucco.

The King's Hammam.

19. Restore the upper portion of the marble traceried window in the south chamber of the King's Hammam on the lines of similar windows in the other chambers.

20. The restoration of the top of the old well on the ramparts, north of the Hammam, may be considered.

Anguri Bagh.

21. Put the bracket capital, which stands upside down in the north-east corner of the Anguri Bagh, among the other loose columns in the room near the Somnath Gates.

22. Restore the missing and wrong finials on the *tambi khana*, south of the Khas Mahal, so as to correspond with the seven finials on the *tambi khana* on the north side of the Khas Mahal.

23. Restore, in marble, the window in the pavilion on the north side of the Khas Mahal.

I should like Mr. Nicholls carefully to examine this balustrade and see whether it can conceivably be a section of that which once surrounded the Anguri Bagh and which we are restoring from Sleeman's drawing. Its presence in this position, so close to the Anguri Bagh, is rather suspicious. Manifestly it had nothing to do with the present window, and was probably put there during the Mutiny. Where then did it come from ?

CURZON.

Musammam Burj.

25. Make tidy the bathroom on the west side of the *pachesi* court.

Jahangiri Mahal.

26. Restore the defaced stones in the parapet on the west front of the Jahangiri Mahal.

27. Lay out the quadrangle in front of the west façade with straight pathways instead of the present curved drive.

The Battlements.

28. Restore all the missing battlements so as to give an unbroken sky line. Carefully ascertain which of the embrasures were originally solid. The new masonry must be such that it can be demolished without difficulty in case of emergency.

THE TAJ.

29. Place an inscribed stone near the stairs leading to Saheli Burj No. 1 with the words

“ To Saheli Burj No. 1.”

30. Straighten the *mutakka* post in the alcove at the back of the gate, south-east side.

31. Purchase the two miniature paintings on ivory of Shah Jahan and his Empress for the museum.

32. Examine the drainage system in the garden and make it trim and neat, removing the dilapidated brick sluices east of the central walk, an ugly stone sluice west of the walk further on, and an untidy stone cover below the Taj terrace.

24. Consider whether the tracery balustrade and the adjoining horizontal sandstone bars in the opening on the north of the octagonal tower can be replaced by something more in keeping.

33. Provide four marble seats for the platform in the middle of the garden. The designs for these will be prepared by the Director General of Archaeology.

34. Make level the sloping causeways which cross the central tank, by forming a step between the causeway and the pavement.

35. The silver lamp, which is being presented by His Excellency to the Taj, will be hung approximately at a height of 10 feet from the floor, but its exact position should be determined by experiment.

36. Clean the black weather stains from the base of the marble platform on which the Taj stands, on the side facing the *Jawab*.

37. Mr. Griessen's scheme for tree planting was approved of by His Excellency with the *proviso* that it should not extend to the two plots nearest the gateway. His Excellency also desired that the view of the adjoining garden plots from the Taj platform should be opened out.

SIKANDRA.

38. Restore the railing along the platform in front of the south gateway.

39. The curved approach roads can be dispensed with, the ends of the platform being exposed by the removal of the soil against them.

40. The newly made straight road, leading up to the south gateway, should terminate in a larger sweep at the foot of the platform.

41. Restore to their original level the paving stones on each side of the entrance arch.

42. Abolish the modern roadway round the interior of the garden and construct a new road to the Dâk Bungalow, cutting through the garden walls at a convenient point. The modern ramps will thus be removed from against the causeways in front of the south-east and west gates.

43. Restore the paving on the north side of the south gate to its original shape, and complete the raised border where it is at present cut by the road.

44. Restore the balustrade all round the platform on which the tomb stands, Is there not another missing? and replace the missing archway on the CURZON. south side of the platform.

45. Reset loose paving stones on the platform around the tomb and remove the loose stones which do not belong there.

46. Replace the clumsy steps at the foot of the turret stairs on the south side of the tomb with short plain steps, so as not to conceal the plinth more than is necessary and correct a piece of the plinth moulding on the left of the entrance.

47. His Excellency considered that the tomb of Miriam in the Mission compound is well worthy of being taken over by the Government and conserved.

FATEHPUR-SIKRI.

48. *Baland Darwaza*.—Restore the missing buds round the soffit of the smaller arch, and when a scaffolding is next put up, the opportunity should be taken of restoring those round the great arch.

49. *Dargah*.—Reset loose stones in the courtyard and provide a suitable top for the well, and, if necessary, a drinking trough for birds in the covering.

50. Remove the net in the prayer chamber and substitute wires to keep out birds.

51. Restore the missing buds round the soffits of arches and *mihrabs*.

52. Consider whether the rectangular openings in the exterior of the east wall of the Dargah should not be open. Some of them are blocked up with modern-looking masonry.

53. *Jodh Bai's Palace*.—Move the central tank a little so as to make it symmetrical with the square on which it stands.

54. *King's Stables*.—Remove the dilapidated wall between the King's Stables and Birbal's House.

55. *Birbal's House*.—Complete the thresholds where incorrect.

J. H. MARSHALL,

15th November 1905:

Director General of Archaeology.

MUBARIK MANZIL.

1. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 23rd May 1904.*

Before leaving Simla Lord Curzon asked me to send you the enclosed cutting about the Mubarik Manzil at Agra. He said *Observer*, Lahore, 5th April 1904. he had written to Sir James LaTouche or to the United Provinces Government on the subject and asked me to let you know what had been said.

I have looked through Lord Curzon's private correspondence from the beginning of 1903, but have not been able to find anything on the subject. The Revenue and Agricultural Department after some search (and a reference to expert) have been equally unable to trace any useful references to the building. I am

therefore sending you the extract, and you will no doubt consult the Lieutenant-Governor, to whom I am sending a copy of this letter, as to whether there is anything to be done.

2. Letter (Extract) from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 19th July 1904.

I enclose a copy of a letter from the Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces which will explain what action was taken regarding the Mubarik Manzil at Agra.

Enclosure of No. 2:

Letter from H. G. S. Tyler, Esq., Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, United Provinces, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 9th July 1904, enclosing a note by His Honour and the Local Government's orders.

With reference to your letter of the 26th May, His Honour wishes me to send you the enclosed copy of a note which he wrote after going into the question of the Mubarik Manzil on the spot in 1902, and also a copy of the last reply sent to the people who petitioned on the subject. These will, I think, fully explain how matters stand.

Enclosures of above:

(1) His Honour's Note, dated 12th March 1902.

I have carefully examined this building in company with the petitioners, the Commissioner, the Collector and the Executive Engineer. The only evidence that this building was ever used as a musjid is the existence of the musallas or praying spaces. The building since 1810 was till 1877 used as the office of the Salt Collector and in 1817 was largely modified, a second storey was built, and there is absolutely no evidence that the building was used as a place of divine worship at the time of the commencement of British rule in 1803. The original building was a rectangular series of arcades formed by red sandstone arches 15 on one side and 7 on the other.

There was a flat roof and a staircase to it. On the north side there were three doors with flat stone lintels, the intermediate spaces being blocked up. These three doors apparently belonged to three different rooms, but the interior space has been so built over by partition walls that it is impossible to retrace the original division of the interior. On the west face there is, as remarked by Mr. Fanthome, no mihrab or niche such as is found in

all other mosques at Agra and, I believe, in every mosque in India. The stone arcades are built in, but when this was done it seems impossible to say.

The musallas are in the centre part of the building, elsewhere I found stone flags, whether original or not I do not know. The large door shown in the plan filed by the memorialists never, it would appear, existed.

There is I think no doubt that the building was used as a place of residence or manzil. There was an arcaded audience hall and rooms on the north and south sides. What was in the centre is impossible to say with certainty. The probability is that there was an open space and that the musjid which was no doubt connected with the residence was in a separate building which has long since disappeared. The manzil is now surrounded on all sides with Hindu temples.

I do not therefore consider it incumbent on the Musalman community to suppose that the present building was ever used for divine worship. There is no evidence from any ancient record. There is no inscription of any sort on the building itself. The manzil was in 1879 sold by Government for Rs. 17,000, and the present owner does not wish to sell. There is no ground on which it should be acquired for a public purpose.

(2) *Office Memorandum by the Government of the United Provinces, dated 25th March 1902.*

Read a petition, dated 19th February 1902, from Ali Ahmad Khan, vakil, and others of Agra, stating that the owner of the Musjid Mubarik Manzil demands an exorbitant sum and praying that the land be acquired under the Land Acquisition Act or otherwise.

ORDER.—Ordered that petitioners be informed that after carefully examining the building in company with the petitioners, the Commissioner, the Collector and the Executive Engineer, the Lieutenant-Governor and Chief Commissioner is of opinion that there is no reason to suppose that the present building was ever used as a place of divine worship. There is no ground on which it can be acquired for a public purpose under the Act, and the request made cannot be granted.

LAMP FOR THE TAJ.

1. *Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 28th January 1905.*

I was talking last night to a competent authority who had just been visiting Agra. He told me that the custodians of the tomb at the Taj still wear very dingy garments—he thought that they should wear the traditional garb of the Mogul days—and, what is worse, that they still carry those abominable lamps.

Do you remember that once when we were there together I drew attention to these, and orders were given that a new design was to be prepared ? Nothing has apparently been done. Could you look into it ?

2. *Letter (Extract) from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 1st February 1905.*

As regards the lamps, the idea was, as Mr. Reynolds says, that Mr. Marshall would get us a good pattern from Cairo, but I regret that we have allowed the matter to drop out of sight. Your Excellency directed that a good hanging lamp should be provided for the entrance gateway. There was also to be a lamp in the vault of the Taj. Nothing was, I believe, ordered about the lighting of the Taj dome. This does not, like the vault, require lighting in the day-time, but I agree with the Commissioner that we should have five hanging lamps which can be lit on special occasions. I am writing to Mr. Marshall on the subject.

Enclosure of No 2 :

Letter (Extract) from H. W. W. Reynolds, Esq., dated 21st January 1905.

As to lamps. We at present use large hurricane lanterns with wet wicks, and the best American kerosine oil.

You will probably recollect that His Excellency asked Mr. Marshall to write to Cairo and get a pattern for a lamp. We are still waiting instructions from Mr. Marshall.

Meanwhile we thought it advisable to use only portable lamps, and I have searched through all lamp catalogues in vain for a suitable lamp. It is no good giving the *Khadims* hand lamps, for they would never hold them upright.

The only lighting that will be at all satisfactory will be lamps hanging from the roof, and for this we must wait for instructions from the Director General of Archæology.

Meanwhile, if people want to go inside the Taj at night and see the details of the inlaid work, I can suggest nothing better than the present lanterns.

Visitors in the daytime only want light in the vault beneath, and here again we await Mr. Marshall's instructions. I think we shall want at least seven lamps in order to do away entirely with the use of portable lamps ; one is wanted in the entrance gateway, one in the vault under the Taj, and at least five in the Taj itself, one in the centre and four hanging over and slightly outside the screen.

3. Letter from Viceroy, to the Earl of Cromer, British Agency, Cairo, Egypt, dated 19th April 1905.

Now I desire to bespeak your kind help in a more artistic matter. I want to give a beautiful silver hanging lamp of Saracenic design to be hung above the cenotaphs of Shah Jahan and his queen in the upper mausoleum of the Taj. The original chain is still hanging from the centre of the great dome; but the lamp has long disappeared and no one knows what it was like. I have been trying for years to get the people here to give me a design, but have failed.

I turn, therefore, to Cairo, where my recollection is that some very beautiful lamps still hang in the Arab mosques. If I can get a good design, I would propose to have one of these reproduced in silver at Cairo with such inscriptions as may be befitting to its new object and destination. The dome is 80 feet in height and 58 in diameter, and the lamp would hang, I suppose, about 10 feet from the floor above the marble tombs inside the pierced marble screen. It would, therefore, require to be a large and handsome work of art. The style of the Taj you know to be what we call Indo-Saracenic, which is really Arabic, with flowering substituted for geometrical patterns.

I feel sure that there are numbers of exquisitely illustrated works in which I could find what I want at once. But we have not got them here. Equally sure am I that in one of your departments or museums you will have some lover of the arts who will at once suggest what I desire.

Will you turn him on and get him to send me whatever photographs, patterns, or drawings he may think desirable? I should like, if possible, to complete and present the lamp before next winter.

4. Letter from the Earl of Cromer, dated 2nd May 1905.

I am greatly interested in your excellent lamp idea, and will most certainly do all I can to help. Herz, a Hungarian Jew, is very competent in these matters. I have turned him on to the work, and he will shortly produce photographs and an explanatory memorandum about cost, etc. In spite of the destruction at the hands of vandals of sorts, there still exist some very beautiful lamps of the Taj period. I fancy that one of these ought to serve as a good model.

As to whether the lamp should be made here or in India, Herz, in conversation with me, was rather doubtful. The workmen here are extremely good at anything in the way of ornamental inscriptions. For the rest of the work, the Indian workmen are possibly superior. However, this and other points can be

decided when you have considered Herz's report. I hope to be able to send it along soon.

Enclosure of No. 4 :

Letter from W. E. Garstin, Esq., to the Earl of Cromer, dated 1st May 1905.

About the lamp. I think there should be no difficulty in making sketches and photographs of one or two of the best of the old lamps in the Arab Museum. There is a beautiful collection there. Either Herz or Richmond could do this. Perhaps the former would be best. Shall I send him to you, or shall I tell him? I will keep Lord Curzon's letter until I hear. Perhaps I had better see him first and then send him to you. I will send for him to-morrow morning.

5. Letter from the Earl of Cromer, dated 30th May 1905.

I now enclose a memorandum prepared by Herz Bey.

The plans are sent separately. Also a small box containing specimens of inlaid work.

Over a century separates the Taj and the El-Ghoury Mosque. At the same time, I am inclined to think that you could not do better than take the lamp of that mosque as a model.

You will see that Herz proposes some slight changes. They seem to me to be improvements.

He recommends you not to have it entirely in silver. The cost would be very heavy, and he thinks that silver inlaid on copper would, in all respects, be more suitable.

It is for you to decide, whether, if you adopt the plan, the work shall be executed here or in India. Herz thinks that "repoussé" work is better done in India, but that the Cairo inlaid work is superior to the Indian.

In any case, he strongly recommends you to have any inscriptions done here. The Egyptians are excellent caligraphists.

I have marked in pencil on the design * (Plate II) the places where two inscriptions might be inserted. There is

* Not printed. room for others. Would you kindly let me know what sort of inscriptions you would wish? I presume that one should certainly be some suitable verse of the Koran? Would you like anything com-

memorative as another, stating the date and circumstances connected with the gift of the lamp ?

I am about to leave for England, but Findlay, who will act for me, will open any letter addressed to me here, and will give whatever instructions are necessary.

Enclosure of No. 5 :

Memorandum by Herz Bey. Mémoire pour la confection d'un lustre destiné au Mausolée Tadj Mahal, à Agra.

A.—Style du lustre.

Parmi les beaux lustres qui se trouvent au Musée Arabe du Caire, celui provenant de la Mosquée du sultan el-Ghourî (Pl. 1) se recommande comme modèle, d'abord, parce que, plus que tout autre lustre, il se rapproche le plus de l'époque du Mausolée de Agra (le sultan elt Ghouri de 1501 à 1516 ; l'empereur Djehan de 1628 à 1658) et ensuite, parce qu'il appartient comme le Tadj lui-même, à l'époque où l'art musulman acquiert un développement sensiblement marqué d'une influence étrangère.

Le lustre d'el-Ghourî pourrait donc avantageusement servir de modèle, en y introduisant toutefois certains changements qui auront pour but de rappeler le monument auquel le nouveau lustre est destiné. Ces changements affecteront le bulbe final du lustre et les quatre tourelles qui l'entourent. La Planche II donne le dessin du lustre tel qu'il est projeté, avec le bulbe rappelant le dôme et les tourelles imitant le couronnement des quatre minarets posés aux angles de la plate-forme de Tadj Mahal.

B.—Dimensions du lustre.

En étudiant la relation des lustres conservés au Musée Arabe avec l'intérieur des monuments auxquels ils étaient destinés, on conclut que le lustre du Mausolée de Agra devra avoir la hauteur de 8 pieds et 2 pouces. La Planche III montre le procédé graphique de cet examen ; elle représente la chapelle principale de la Mosquée du sultan Hassan avec son lustre tel qu'il s'y trouvait et à côté, la section par la salle du tombeau du Tadj, avec le lustre projeté.

C.—Spécimen de travail.

Le procédé décoratif du lustre de Ghouri consiste en travail au burin, rehaussé par la perforation de certaines parties de sa surface.

Nous proposons d'ajouter à ce travail l'incrustation en argent et en or qui est le procédé décoratif le plus riche qui ait été exercé par les artisans musulmans ; son effet est des plus beaux. Nous présentons à titre d'exemple la Plaque IV représentant un tabouret du XIV^e siècle.

D.—Description du travail.

1°. Le lustre sera en tôle de métal jaune. Les deux galeries principales porteront une large inscription dont les lettres seront incrustées d'argent. Par ce même moyen on rehaussera

les galeries intermédiaires et le corps pyramidal courbé du lustre. Des rosaces et inscriptions tant perforées qu'incrustées d'argent et en faibles parties d'or seront distribuées par tout.

2°. Des godets et ampoules en verre compléteront le lustre. Il y en aura, commesur celui d'el-Ghouri 92 pièces qui formeront autant de flammes. Quelques légers motifs en émail sur les verreries contribueront à augmenter la beauté générale du lustre.

E.—Coût du lustre.

	£
Le lustre proprement dit confectionné conformément à la description ci-dessus coûtera approximativement 500	
Les 60 godets émaillés (y compris 12 pièces de rechange) à £ 2 .. 120	
Les 60 ampoules (y compris 16 pièces de rechange) à £ 1-0-0 .. 60	
Imprévus 20	
Total approximatif .. £ 700	<hr/>

Le Caire le 26 Mai 1905.

6. *Letter from Viceroy, to M. deC. Findlay, Esq., C.M.G., British Agency, Cairo, Egypt, dated 27th July 1905.*

Before he left Cairo Lord Cromer authorized me to write to you concerning the future progress of the Arabic lamp, which I desire to order for the Taj at Agra. This must be my excuse for troubling you. I should have done so earlier but for illness. Lord Cromer sent me some photographs and drawings of a very remarkable lamp originally in the El-Ghoury Mosque, and now I think in the museum, with a note of Herz Bey suggesting that I should have this lamp copied.

I cannot be sufficiently grateful for the beautiful coloured drawing, and for the enormous trouble taken by Herz Bey. I do not think, however, that the lamp selected is altogether suitable for the interior of the Taj, which in my view requires something simpler and less elaborate in design.

I have found in a book called "*L'Art Arabe d'apres les monuments du Kaire*" par Prisse D'Avennes, Paris, 1877, a picture of what seems to me a more suitable lamp hanging in the tomb of Sultan Beybars II. I wonder if you would kindly call the attention of Herz Bey to this lamp (no doubt of copper, bronze or brass in the original) and ask his advice as to its reproduction. Would he recommend its being executed in silver, or in copper, or in silver inlaid on copper, as in the case of the little patterns kindly sent by Lord Cromer? What would require to be the dimensions of the lamp to suit the dome of the Taj, and what would be the approximate cost in the various possible materials?

In the original are two bands of inscriptions—one of these might be utilized for an appropriate text from the Koran, the other for a commemorative inscription stating simply that the lamp was presented to the tomb by Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, in such and such a year.

7. Letter from M. deC. Findlay, Esq., dated 15th September 1905.

I enclose a letter from Richmond about the lamp which used to be in the tomb of Sultan Beybars II. It is not known where it now is. You will see what Richmond says about the size and suitability of this lamp. I should be only too glad to be of any further assistance if you would let me know your wishes.

Lord Cromer returns on October 18th, and I then go on leave till January, so if you are writing about the lamp late in October, please write to Lord Cromer. I will tell him what has passed on the subject.

I am sorry that there has been so much delay especially as you are leaving India. But it has been unavoidable.

Enclosure of No. 7 :

Letter from E. E. Richmond, Esq., Public Works Ministry, Cairo, dated 14th September 1905.

I regret that, owing to illness, I have been unable to answer your questions earlier regarding the proposed lamp for the Taj Mahal at Agra. I have now looked through all the books likely to give information respecting the whereabouts of the lamp mentioned in Lord Curzon's letter to you.

Several books illustrate it, but their authors have apparently copied the engraving Prisse D'Avennes book : none mention where it is to be found ; it is not therefore likely to be in any of the great collections, the South Kensington or the Louvre. It is probably in a private collection.

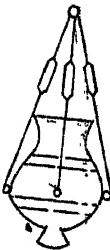
The lamp was not more than 35 or 40 centimeters in diameter, it was of very delicate inlaid silver filigree work, and made to hang fairly near the eye.

Its suitability for the Taj at Agra would depend of course to a great extent on the position in which it is proposed to hang it.

Is it for the big central dome or for one of the four smaller domes ?

For the big dome a lamp of considerable dimensions is needed, the whole design could not be less than 6 feet across, possibly more, otherwise it would be lost. The dome of the Taj is nearly 60 feet across.

The lamp of Beybars II is in no way suitable either in its present size or if enlarged : it is roughly of this shape.



One never finds a lamp of this design on a large scale.

The design and the size are inseparable, one cannot, as you will of course understand, be considered apart from the other:

To enlarge this lamp to fit the scale of the big dome at Agra would never do.

These are only my personal opinions ; but as you were good enough to ask me, I give them for what they may be worth.

8. Letter from Viceroy, to M. deC. Findlay, Esq., dated 5th October 1905.

I am much obliged for your further letter about the lamp. I am not quite in agreement with Mr. Richmond, and I think that the Sultan Beybar's lamp somewhat enlarged, but not to the dimensions that he assumes, will do very well for the Taj.

I hope, however, to pass through Cairo on my way home about November 27th, and I will then give the order for the lamp myself.

For the moment, therefore, I need not trouble you. I am sorry that I shall not have the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Findlay or yourself.

TOMB OF JOHN COLVIN, ESQ., IN THE AGRA FORT.

1. Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 28th January 1905.

My informant further told me that Colvin's tomb is still *in situ* in front of the Diwan-i-Am in the Agra Fort as well as that inapposite basin or bath.

I do not quite remember which. Did we not settle that you should write to Sir A. Colvin, saying that we desired to remove the tomb to the shade of one of the big trees close to, where it would be surrounded by green grass, and would in every way have a more appropriate setting ? Was this ever done ? If not, will you do it, or would you like me to write now ? I think it would come best from you.

2. *Letter (Extract) from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 1st February 1905.*

Lastly, as regards Mr. John Colvin's tomb. I wrote at the time to Sir Walter Colvin asking if the tomb was the actual grave of his father, and suggesting that it was desirable to move it to a corner of the Diwan-i-Am, where it would be under trees, and a plot of grass could be maintained round it. At the same time I caused inquiries to be made at Agra as to whether Mr. Colvin was actually buried on this site. It was proved that the tomb was the actual grave, and Sir Walter Colvin, in speaking to me on the subject, betrayed such horror at what he considered desecration of the grave, that I dropped the subject, saying that the main question was whether the tomb was a cenotaph or a grave. Possibly the subject might be taken up again when the Diwan-i-Am is completely finished, but I fancy that the Colvin family are somewhat sore about the memory of their father, whose administration has been assailed by Lord Roberts and others, and I do not think that while the sons are alive the consent of the family could be obtained to the removal of the grave.

I do not remember that Your Excellency gave any orders about the large basin or bath next the tomb. This could be moved at any time when it is settled where it is to go.

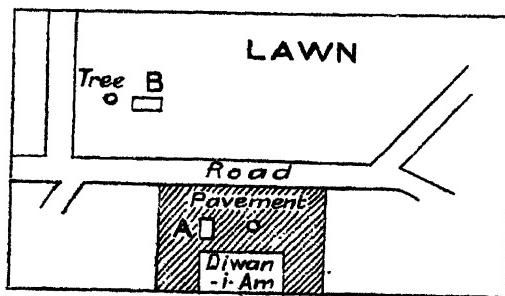
3. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir W. M. Colvin, Kt., Allahabad, dated 7th April 1905.*

Sir James LaTouche mentioned to me at Agra a letter that he had received from you in which you spoke of there being some doubt in my mind as to whether your distinguished father had or had not actually been buried on the spot where his tomb stands immediately in front of the Diwan-i-Am at Agra. There must have been some mistake : for I never hazarded a doubt. I only asked a question. My point was quite a different one. It was this.

We are restoring and recovering the entire quadrangle of the Diwan-i-Am. All the military buildings have been pulled down : the old red sandstone *dalans*, or arcades, have been rebuilt around the quadrangle : and the whole of the latter,

except the paved space in front of the Diwan-i-Am and the roads, will presently be converted into a beautiful lawn shaded by trees.

My idea was that it would be a far more beautiful and suitable resting-place for your father if his body and tomb were moved from the pavement where the latter now stands, side by side with the huge stone tub or bath of Jahangir, and were replaced identically as they are now under the shade of the best tree in the quadrangle, surrounded by the green lawn, at a distance of about 30-40 yards from the present site. I will draw a sketch from memory.



A. Present site of tomb.
B. Proposed site of tomb.

I venture to think that the new site would be a far more appropriate and reverential one than the present position : and assuredly no such idea as disrespect or desecration, but quite the contrary, comes in.

At the same time I could only persevere even with this modest re-adjustment if it met with the emphatic consent of the surviving sons of your late father. If this were given, the removal could be effected under your own eye, and any other site in the quadrangle that you might prefer (though I have endeavoured to choose the best) could be selected. I have never heard any one express but one feeling, *viz.*, that the present site is ill-adapted to a tomb that ought to be invested by surroundings of dignity and repose.

Should you and your family express disapproval of the idea, it will of course not be persisted in.

Perhaps when you have thought it over you will let me know.

4. Letter from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 16th May 1905.

I have received Your Excellency's letter of 13th May. I enclose a letter from Sir Walter Colvin, dated 30th April. He perhaps intended that I should

send it on, but I did not understand at the time that he had not acknowledged your communication to him. Everything is, he says, quite satisfactory, and he will reply definitely to Your Excellency when he reaches England.

Enclosure of No. 4:

Letter from Sir W. M. Colvin, Kt., dated 30th April 1905.

I have to thank you for handing my letter regarding my father's grave in the Fort of Agra to Lord Curzon. He has written personally to me and has stated in it that nothing will be done to my father's grave without the emphatic consent of his surviving sons.

I have forwarded his letter to my brothers in England.

An answer to His Excellency's letter to me will be sent to him in due course. Lord Curzon says he never hazarded a doubt as to my father being actually buried where his tombstone stands, and that there must be some mistake in the matter, for he only asked a question.

Everything is therefore quite satisfactory now, and it rests with my father's sons to allow or to disallow the removal of his remains to a spot indicated by Lord Curzon in his letter to me or to any other spot selected by us. We shall send our reply to His Excellency, and you will be duly informed of what our decision is by myself when I reach England.

5. Letter from Sir W. M. Colvin, Kt., dated 25th May 1905.

I received the enclosed letter regarding our father's tomb at Agra from my brother Bazett by the last mail. There was a little delay in its receipt owing to my absence from Allahabad on business, but that was unavoidable. I send it to you to read, and shall feel much obliged if you would, after perusing it, order it to be posted to me at Langley, Liss, Hants, England. I am going home by the mail of the 27th instant, for four months or thereabouts. As it is impossible for me now to arrange with the civil and military authorities for a photograph or photographs to be taken as my brothers wish, would you be so very kind as to order this to be done? When taken will you say that the photographs are to be sent to me to my home address? This will save time and ensure a speedier reply being sent to you by us.

Enclosure of No. 5 :

Letter from B. W. Colvin, Esq., dated 5th May 1905.

The last mail brought me your letter of April 12th.

Auckland and I would like to reserve a final answer to the question raised in it until you return to England, if that will not be too long to delay.

We assume—what is most probably the case—that there is no imperative necessity upon public grounds for disturbing our father's grave—of course, if there were, we could only acquiesce, and all that we would ask would be that the selection of the place to which it might be moved should be made subject to our approval.

We understand that the present suggestion is rather made with a view to moving the tomb to a more appropriate site and one which would place it more in harmony with its surroundings. To judge properly of the force of this reason, we feel that we ought to know more precisely than we do what has been done in its neighbourhood and what more is intended. It is evident that great changes have been made. The sketch in Lord Curzon's letter shows the grave as being now surrounded by a pavement. Up to the beginning of 1885, when I left India, it stood by itself on a large plot of grass. If we can wait until you come, and if you can procure a photograph of the ground as it now is, we should be better able to estimate the force of the objections to leaving the grave where it is.

We are fully sensible of the courtesy and consideration shown in the Viceroy's letter to you, and nothing could be farther from our wishes than to put any needless impediment in the way of what he is doing for the proper maintenance of the famous buildings of India. Yet, unless the objections that I have mentioned are much greater than we yet know of, we should be very reluctant—as at present informed—to give our consent to removing our father's remains from the spot which was selected as best by the men in authority at Agra at the time of their interment, and in which they have lain undisturbed for nearly half a century.

These are our views at home; but you, who are still in India, know more than we do, and if you do not agree with us, we will gladly wait and hear what you have to say.

It has occurred to me that, with His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales' coming visit to India, the same difficulty that presented itself in 1876 may perhaps be felt again, viz., that the position of the tomb might interfere with access to the Diwan-i-Am should that be wanted on some public occasion. If so, might it not be met, as before, by boarding over the whole area that encloses the tomb?

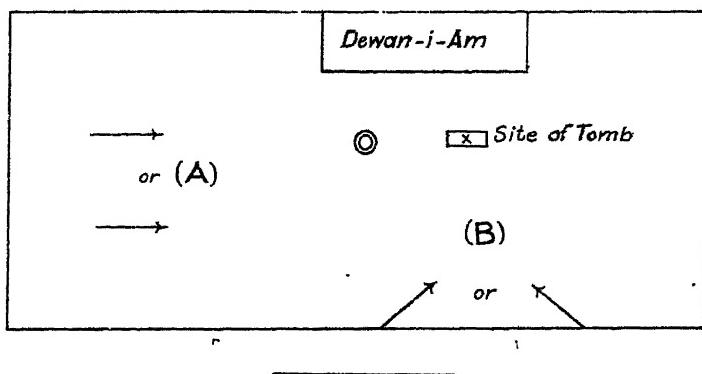
I have written to you so lately that I will not add any private matters to this letter; especially as you may perhaps wish to show it.

6. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to H. M. R. Hopkins, Esq., Magistrate and Collector, Agra, dated 4th June 1905.*

I am desired by His Excellency the Viceroy to ask you to be so kind as to have two photographs taken of the Colvin tomb in front of the Diwan-i-Am in the fort at Agra.

I enclose a sketch from which you will see the two directions [(A), (B)] from which approximately the photographs should be taken.

I shall be greatly obliged if you will have this done as soon as possible and if you will send me two prints of each photograph.



7. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir W. M. Colvin, Kt., dated 9th June 1905.

I have ordered photographs to be taken of your father's tomb at Agra, and I will send these as soon as they are ready.

I think I can explain to your brothers exactly what we are doing in the great court of the Diwan-i-Am. It is being restored as far as possible to the appearance which it presented in the days of the Moguls. The British converted it into an arsenal and storage place for guns. They built a row of buildings all the way round obscuring the original *dalans* or red sandstone arcade that ran round the court. The whole of these buildings have been removed, and the old *dalans* restored. The court now presents three main features :

(1) The Diwan-i-Am or Hall of Audience.

(2) The great open space in front—paved or gravelled—I forget which—on which stands the stone tub of Jahangir and your father's tomb. When this space ceased to be covered with grass I cannot say. But it must have been, I think, soon after the Mutiny (even though a grass plot may have surrounded the tomb), since it is the only way by which carriages can enter the quadrangle, deposit visitors at the Diwan-i-Am, and pass on to the now restored Jahangiri Mahal.

(3) The remainder of the quadrangle, up to the *dalans*, which before the ensuing winter will be converted into a beautiful level lawn, with nothing on it but detached trees. It is under one of these that I seek leave to shift the tomb of your father.

There is no question of using the Diwan-i-Am for any public purpose during the Prince of Wales' visit. It is proposed to move the tomb, exclusively because of what appears to the present Lieutenant-Governor, to myself, and I think to all who could now see it, the extreme unsuitability and want of solemnity of its present surroundings. It stands out in the open all by itself, in close proximity to the Mogul bath, and just outside the Mogul hall of audience, in the open roadway with no associations of quietude or reverence about it. I think if you went there and saw it you would realize the full force not merely of the anachronism, but of the garish and inappropriate setting. It has seemed to all of us, on the many occasions when we have been there in connection with the archæological repairs—that we should greatly prefer to see the grave of this eminent Englishman— inseparably connected as he was with the Fort and stricken down in the hour of his country's trial—invested with more of the surroundings that we commonly associate with the resting place of the dead.

These we can ensure to it within 40 or 50 yards. I would gladly agree to your going to Agra and choosing the new site for yourself. If you desire any particular tree to be planted at the head of the grave, we will gladly do it.

It is not of course for me to estimate the degree of sanctity attached by your family to the precise spot, or of their objections to even so slight a removal.

I have already said that we will defer to these, if they prove to be insurmountable.

And yet could we all go together to the spot, I do not think there would be much disagreement.

Thanking you for the very courteous reception which your family have so far given to the suggestion that I made, and hoping that the further information which I am now sending—together with the photographs—may assist you to a decision.

8. Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 9th June 1905.

Hopkins has forwarded me your letter asking for a photograph of the Colvin tomb in the fort here.

It will be impossible to take a photograph now much before September, as owing to the heat the film melts in the course of development.

I will see if any of the local photographers have any negatives taken from the points of view that His Excellency wishes, in which case a print can be made.

If I have to get fresh negatives taken as soon as it gets cool enough, would you kindly let me know about what size they are required ?

9. *Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 10th June 1905.*

I have just received your telegram about the photographs of the Colvin tomb.

It is impossible to develop photographs in the plains before the end of September as I know by experience, and the native photographers here say the same.

I am doubtful if I shall succeed in finding any old negatives taken from the spots that His Excellency wishes.

If the matter is urgent the only thing to do is to expose the plates here and then send them to Simla to be developed. If you would like this done, and will tell me the size you want, I can get this done easily.

If quarter-plate size is large enough, I can take the photographs myself at any time, and send them up to Simla to be developed, if you will tell me the best man to send them to. My camera will only take this small size I regret to say.

10. *Telegram from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Commissioner, Agra Division, dated 12th June 1905.*

Your letter dated June 10th. I shall be much obliged if you will take the photographs yourself and send them to Bourne and Shepherd at Simla to be developed. Will you kindly let me know when they are sent ?

11. *Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 13th June 1905.*

I have received your telegram and will put the plates in to-night, take the photographs to-morrow, and send them off to Bourne and Shepherd with the necessary instructions on Thursday.

I have had the plates by me for some little time, and it is possible that they have deteriorated, but I am sending for a fresh lot, and if Bourne and Shepherd find that these negatives are no use, I will take them again with fresh plates.

To save time, however, they may as well see if these will be any good.

The Diwan-i-Am as a background just at present will have rather a ruined appearance, as the corner pillars that showed signs of settling are being pulled down and rebuilt.

12. Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 14th June 1905.

I have just despatched to Bourne and Shepherd a packet of 11 negatives that I took yesterday of the Colvin tomb from the four points that you indicated.

I had to take some in the morning and some in the evening as the sun was in the way for some of the views.

You did not mention how much of the tomb and the surroundings you wanted, so I took three at varying distances from each of the directions indicated.

I have told Bourne and Shepherd to develop the negatives and send any negatives that are satisfactory, to you. You can then select which you want printed.

If none turn out well I have asked them to let me know, and to state what is the cause of failure, and I will try again. I have never tried taking photographs in this sort of weather, and do not know if the heat will affect the negatives at all.

Yesterday evening when I took some of them it was so hot that the vulcanite shutter of the dark slide showed symptoms of softening.

13. Letter from Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 19th June 1905.

I am sending you by book post copies of the only photographs I can find in the shops here showing the Colvin tomb in the fort. They are not taken at all from the points that His Excellency wants, but they may be of interest as showing what the Diwan-i-Am used to be like in the old days.

14. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir W. M. Colvin, Kt., dated 20th June 1905.

I now send you two photographs of the Diwan-i-Am as it was in the old days, when your father's tomb apparently stood in the middle of the grass, if it ever was grass—which I doubt: also a number of small photographs of the tomb and surroundings as they are now. You will observe that the old brick pavement has been uncovered and restored; and you will be able to understand what I meant in my last letter about the juxtaposition of the tomb to the Diwan-i-Am. In the corner of some of the photographs appear the trees in the further portion of the quadrangle underneath the most spreading and suitable of which it is suggested that the tomb, if it be moved, should be placed.

I now leave the matter in the hands of yourself and your family.

15. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Mr. H. W. W. Reynolds, dated 28th June 1905.*

I have to thank you very much for the photographs of the Colvin tomb; both those which you sent from the shops and those which you took yourself, and which were developed very successfully here. The photographs answer very well the purpose for which they were intended. Will you very kindly let me know how much I am indebted to you?

16. *Letter from Sir W. M. Colvin, Kt., dated 28th July 1905.*

I write to thank you for the photographs of the surroundings of my father's grave which you sent me with your letter. I have forwarded them to my brothers, and we are shortly to meet and send you our reply. I am sorry to see by the papers that you have been unwell, and trust that you have quite recovered again.

17. *Letter from Sir W. M. Colvin, Kt., dated 29th September 1905.*

I enclose in the envelope which takes this letter the expression of the views of the surviving sons of our father as to the removal of his remains and grave in the fort of Agra. We regret very much our inability to fall in with your wishes in this matter—and especially so as our answer goes to you at a time when you are about to leave India. I feel sure, however, that you will understand and appreciate our refusal to allow the grave to be disturbed.

Enclosure of No. 17 :

Letter, dated 25th September 1905, from the surviving sons of the late Mr. J. R. Colvin, B.C.S.

We have carefully considered the suggestion which has been made that our father's remains and the tomb which covers them in the Agra Fort should be removed to another part of the court which lies in front of the Diwan-i-Am.

We recognize that, with the changes which have been made in the surroundings of the tomb, its present position is ill-adapted for a grave, and we think that the structure of the tomb itself is not in harmony with the Mogul architecture which has been brought to light and restored in its immediate vicinity. We could wish too that the grave was situated in some place more suggestive of quiet and repose than its present site. That site, which was chosen as the best then available by the authorities in the Fort of Agra, after our father's death, and on which the existing tomb was erected some twenty years later by the Government of the North-Western Provinces, is unquestionably now open to criticism. Nevertheless, we hold to it strongly, because whether or not it was then, or now is, the most eligible place, it was in fact the actual spot in which our father was laid to rest, and because his remains have lain there undisturbed for nearly 50 years. We are not convinced that a removal would bring into it the compensating advantages which are anticipated. We think that nothing but imperative necessity can justify the disturbing of a grave which has been so long reverently maintained, the present site of which is not without its historical significance and which is still a sacred spot to surviving relatives. We feel also that if it should be now moved in the belief that a better place can be found for it elsewhere, further displacement, as time passes and circumstances alter, might on that precedent be contemplated hereafter.

As our opinion has not only been asked in the matter, but as it has been intimated that the decision taken will be in accordance with our wishes, we are compelled reluctantly and after anxious deliberation, to say that we cannot bring ourselves to accept the suggestion which has been made. We wish, however, to acknowledge and to express our full appreciation of the courtesy and consideration with which the proposal has been made to us.

BAZETT W. COLVIN.

A. COLVIN.

W. M. COLVIN.

18. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir W. M. Colvin, Kt., dated 25th October 1905.*

I see that you have returned to India, so I send this to Allahabad.

I have received the letter containing the views of your brothers and yourself, about your father's tomb, and though I venture to regret the decision, I will of course accept it.

AHMEDABAD.

1. Note by Viceroy, dated 20th November 1899, on Shah Alam Dargah.

The information supplied to me about the endowment of the Shah Alam Dargah at Ahmedabad, and about the manner in which it has been expended in recent years, seems to me to be unsatisfactory, and to be inconsistent with the statements contained in Mr. Cousens' revised edition of "Antiquarian remains in the Bombay Presidency," which was issued as recently as 1897. Mr. Cousens says that the revenues of three villages are assigned for the upkeep of these buildings, viz., Sarsa, Isanpur, and Vasna-Maktampur. Mr. Gibb reports that "part of the revenues of Vasna-Bujarg" alone are so assigned. Mr. Cousens says that the portion of the revenues taken over by the local authorities for repairs "amounts to upwards of Rs. 2,000 every year, more or less according to the season." Mr. Gibb does not give any indication of the manner or principle according to which a portion of the village revenues are hypothecated to the shrine, but he states the contribution of the past four years as varying from a minimum of Rs. 950 to a maximum of Rs. 1,280—figures which differ very substantially from Mr. Cousens' calculations.

An explanation should be supplied of this difference as well as of the more considerable discrepancy previously noted.

Next as regards the administration of the fund. It appears that, unless questions involving architectural skill are concerned, expenditure is sanctioned by the local Public Works Department, acting upon the advice (after reference to the hereditary custodian) of "a subordinate of the Executive Engineer." It may be inferred that it was under this system that, at some recent date, a thick and hideous coat of whitewash has been applied to the cupolas of the dargah and to the upper part of the tomb—a surface decoration which should in my opinion be removed.

It appears from the statement that there is a balance in hand of more than Rs. 4,000. Nevertheless, I found the grounds in an untidy and littered state, encumbered with heaps of debris, and overgrown in parts with brambles.

There is no reason why a portion of the balance should not be immediately devoted to the cleaning up and planting of the enclosure, or why an annual sum should not be expended upon converting an arid and slatternly waste into a pretty and well-tended garden.

There is room for closer supervision and keener interest on the part of the local authorities.

Mr. Cousens, when he visits Ahmedabad, will doubtless see to the prompt execution of these works, and will take steps to ensure their annual upkeep and maintenance.

Enclosure of No. 1:

Note by M. C. Gibb, Esq., Collector and Magistrate, Ahmedabad, dated November 1899.

Part of the revenues of the village of Vasna-Bujarg in the Kaira District is remitted every year from Kaira to the Mamlatdar of Daskrohi (the home taluka of Ahmedabad) and credited in the Sub-Treasury of this office to a separate account.

2. Unexpended balances are left to accumulate for expenditure on the object to which the revenues are appropriated.

3. Each year the amount of funds is communicated to the Executive Engineer, and a subordinate of his department consults Musa Mian, the hereditary custodian of the mosque, as to what repairs are necessary. The estimates, when made, are, if they involve matters of architectural skill, sent for countersignature to H. Cousens, the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Bombay, but all estimates are not so sent: in such cases the estimates are sanctioned by the ordinary Public Works Department authorities. The approval of the Collector is obtained to all estimates.

4. The revenue sent from Kaira in each of the last four years was as follows:—

	Rs.	A. P.
1896-97	.. .. .. ..	1,282 9 9
1897-98	.. .. .. ..	962 8 10
1898-99	.. .. .. ..	953 10 11
1899-1900	.. .. .. ..	1,267 7 9
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	4,466	5 3

There was an opening balance of a little over Rs. 2,400 in 1896-97.

5. Practically the only expenditure incurred in the last 4 years was as follows:—

	Rs.
1896-97 Repairs to the buildings (as per separate list) ..	1,772
1897-98 Metalling the road between the outer gate and the inner gate	1,053

6. There is now a balance in hand of a little over Rs. 4,000 (rupees four thousand).

7. The following are the chief items in the repairs executed in 1896-97 :—

	Rs.
Bricks and lime masonry	179
Chunam	473
Stone flooring	523

8. The road which was metalled in 1897-98 is that between the outer gate and inner gate of the principal entrance. It was in a very bad state before, and as carriages constantly come to Shah Alam, its improvement was desirable. Though insignificant in length, the cost was considerable. Metalling a road near Ahmedabad of even moderate breadth costs Rs. 5,000 a mile, as stone has to be brought by rail.

2. *Letter from S. W. Edgerley, Esq., C.I.E., Political Secretary to the Government of Bombay, dated 24th November 1899, on Shah Alam Dargah.*

I have received your demi-official of 20th November about the Shah Alam. I have sent copies of Gibb's note and the minute thereon to Mr. Cousens, a copy of the minute to Gibb, and the papers themselves to the Secretary, Public Works Department.

3. *Letter from Viceroy, to Lord Northcote, C.B., G.C.I.E., Governor of Bombay, dated 21st May 1900, on Archaeological repairs at Ahmedabad.*

Speaking of Ahmedabad, I must now invoke your assistance for the execution of certain archaeological repairs there—a subject in which, as you perhaps know, I am keenly interested. I do not know, when you paid your famine visit there the other day, whether you had time to look at any mosques, monuments or ancient buildings. When I was at Ahmedabad in November, I made a careful study of the principal ones, and was shocked to find that neither that excellent man, Mr. Lely, nor the Collector, Mr. Gibb, seemed to know or to care much about them. I was especially struck with the untidy state of the Dargah of Shah Alam outside the city, for the upkeep of which I was informed that certain revenues were assigned to be administered by the Collector. Mr. Gibb seemed to know very little about it; but I left instructions that he should send me full information later on. This he did, and his note is enclosed, with one that I wrote upon it, and a subsequent note prepared in the Revenue and Agricultural Department here. It is quite clear, I think, that there are revenues for the maintenance of this shrine and enclosure, and that they are in the hands of the Collector. The latter ought, therefore, to know more about his duties than Mr. Gibb did; and some sort of programme ought to be prepared for or by him, for

the annual expenditure of the available funds. I spoke about the matter to Mr. Cousens at Poona. I also urged the latter, in his forthcoming visit to Kathiawar, to halt at Ahmedabad and report to your Government about the restoration to its original purpose and form of the exquisite Mosque of Sidi Sayid inside the Fort. This is the building whose four arched or demi-lune windows are filled with the finest examples of pierced stone lattice work in India. Years ago it was converted into a Tehsildar's Kutcherry for the Mamlatdar of Daskrohi, and it is still used for those profane purposes. Fourteen years ago Mr. Crawley-Boevey ("Scheme for the Protection of Ancient Buildings at Ahmedabad," page 39) recommended its restoration. But nothing has been done. I gave a public pledge in my speech at the Asiatic Society at Calcutta (copy enclosed) that it should be reconverted; and I now appeal to you to assist in the operation. All the interior brick and plaster walls or partitions should be taken down; the whitewash should be stripped off; the modern buildings that have been erected against and touching the mosque should be removed; and the Kutcherry should be shifted elsewhere. I am going to bring out a Director General of Archaeology from England a little later on; and when he is here, he will go round and advise me and the Local Governments in such matters. In the meantime I have to do it myself. A great deal ought to be done in Bombay. For the present I content myself with the two modest petitions already put forward.

4. Letter from Lord Northcote, dated 7th June 1900, on Archaeological repairs at Ahmedabad.

As regards Ahmedabad archaeology, I had not time to visit the Shah Alam Dargah, but have called attention to the matter. I fear, however, till we get the famine under, we shall not do much.

I did see the Sidi Sayid Mosque, and both Lely and Gibb told me of your remarks; but the former said he had told you it would cost a lakh of rupees to restore the building, and provide accommodation elsewhere for its contents. I have asked for a more formal estimate; but where I am to get the money I know not. I entirely agree as to the beauty and interest of the building.

5. Letter from Viceroy, to Lord Northcote, dated 13th July 1900, on restoration of Sidi Sayid Mosque.

The idea that the restoration of the Sidi Sayid Mosque and provision of another Kutcherry need cost a lakh of rupees is the greatest nonsense in the world. Nearly

all first estimates in India, particularly if they are framed by the Public Works Department (who are a scourge—in respect of building—to any administration) fall into the category. I invariably reject the first estimate with contumely. I ultimately get exactly the same thing, or at least all that I want, for about one-third of the sum. I cannot say how this can be done at Ahmedabad ; but that it can be done I have not the shadow of a doubt : and when the famine troubles are over, and you have a little money at your disposal, I trust that you may be able to give the necessary orders.

6. *Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Lord Northcote, dated 19th June 1902, on restoration of Sidi Sayid Mosque.*

Mr. Cousens, the other day, sent me a photograph of the restored Sidi Sayid Mosque at Ahmedabad. I was delighted. You may remember that two years ago the Engineers tried to frighten you with costly estimates, and that I pooh-poohed their calculations. I now learn that I was thoroughly justified, inasmuch as the actual cost was only Rs. 1,680.

AJMER.

Notes by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file on restoration of ancient Buildings in Ajmer.

In my recent visit to Ajmer, I made a detailed inspection of the works of archaeological restoration that have been carried out there since my former visit in 1899. They appear to me to have been conscientiously and tastefully executed and to reflect great credit upon Mr. Tucker and the officers who have worked with or under him.

Several of the orders issued by Mr. Marshall—which struck me as all in the right direction—have also been carried out.

There remained a number of points, which had been held over for my decision or upon which final orders had not yet been issued.

Ana Sagar Bund.

Baradari No. 5.—I am afraid that the present appearance is not a success. The only portion of this building of the least beauty or value consists of the three Saracenic arches, facing the lake. But there are also in existence the marble dado of parts of two rooms, one at each end, with the sills of the doorways. Beyond being a part of the original structure, these panels possess neither beauty nor value : nor do they give more than a mutilated idea of the apartments to which they belonged. On the other hand, the price that we have to pay for their retention is that unsightly stone buttresses have had to be built out both at the end of the arcade and on the front, overlooking the truncated apartments, while sham plaster niches have been shaped in the wall immediately above the dadoes. The result is that we have a sort of structural abortion, almost exactly resembling a school Fives-court, with its pepper-box buttresses, ugly to the eye and bewildering to the mind. Mr. Marshall's suggestions have not been carried out with absolute accuracy, since he suggested octagonal buttresses which the local Engineers have been unable to carry out.

After a most careful examination I arrived at the conclusion that the fragments of the two rooms, (*i.e.*, the marble dadoes and door-sills and the plaster niches) should be sacrificed altogether, *i.e.*, that they should be removed and the single wall with the three arches alone left standing. This will always retain its own intrinsic beauty, even though we do not know exactly the nature of the building to which it belonged.

The question then arises what to do with the outer ends of the wall, i.e., where the outer surface of the end pillars are at present embedded in plaster. Not until this plaster has been stripped away can we see whether the end columns were completed like the two centre ones, or whether they are polygonal on the inner side and straight on the outer, and whether their outer surface is rough or has been smoothed. Either these pillars should when exposed be left as they are, or if an external lateral support be required to shore up the entire wall, then a light buttress can be built up against them at either end. This will in any case be less unsightly than the present jumble of angles and projections. I further suggested that, just as the four pillars of the arcade have brackets projecting on the side of the lake from the capitals of the columns, so similar brackets (of which there are several spare old ones in existence) should be added at the two extremities to finish off the wall.

Before ordering this plan to be carried out I said that I would consult Director General about it, since I should like to carry him with me.

The reduction of the size of this Baradari to the single wall will involve the reduction of the size of the platform on which it stands. The platform will then only be a single strip of masonry supporting the single row of arches.

Further, it is entirely wrong that the platform should rise, as it now does, from a grass parterre. This Baradari, like all the rest, should stand upon the terrace of combined marble and chunam. I therefore ordered the turfed part of the terrace to be pushed back further towards the south extremity at G (*vide* Plan No. III). Strictly speaking, it is probably not accurate there. But I thought that the stretch of green turf at both ends of the bund was refreshing to the eye, and that it was a legitimate concession to make to modern ideas of landscape gardening.

Inscription.—I did not approve of the idea of placing an inscription upon the new marble parapet of the staircase going down to the water. I preferred the insertion of a panel in the grey rock at the north extremity of the bund, and ordered Persian and English versions to be submitted to me.

Hummam floor.—The treatment of this is very pretty and effective. If Mr. Marshall lets me know that he agrees with my proposals about the Baradari No. 5, a copy of my note might be sent to Mr. Tucker (who was with me as well as Mr. White) with orders to proceed upon the lines indicated.

Arhai-din-ka Jhompra Mosque.

The domes have been very much improved in appearance : though whether they are of a right or wrong shape I am unable to say.

The colour, however, is totally wrong. They look at present as though a solution of ink and water had been splashed over them. This is in marked and ugly contrast to their surroundings. I gave orders that they should be recoloured

to match the darker shades of the yellow-red sandstone of which the mosque is built.

I noticed for the first time a feature which seems hitherto to have escaped attention. Above the white marble *mihrab* is a window in the main or back wall of the prayer chamber. Access to this aperture is gained by two small stairways descending from the top of the wall outside, and it would appear as if the window must have been used for some purpose connected with the service. The mulla in charge declared that it is so used to this day, and that the imam on certain occasions crawls down one of these stairways and reads certain prayers from a squatting position in the aperture above the *mihrab*.

However this may be, the window as it at present exists is in a mutilated and patched-up condition. It consists of an inner and an outer section. The lintel of the inner portion immediately overlooking the mosque and the *mihrab* is cracked, and has at some time been held up by two imported stones or fragments of pillars. Similarly stones have been introduced to support one side at least of the outer or hinder portion of the window in the thickness of the wall. It is quite easy to remove these adventitious supports, and to hold up the lintel by an iron rail or girder laid horizontally immediately under it, the supports for this girder being either vertical rail-props at either end, or iron stays sunk into the stone of the side walls behind the projecting capitals of the side pilasters, and therefore invisible from the front. The entire window will then be opened to view without any block or obstruction. I gave orders that this should be done.

21-11-02.

Mr. White, the Engineer, did not, in conversation with me, express the opinion that massive buttresses would be required if the side walls of Baradari No. 5 were removed. He thought that slight buttresses would be sufficient, and he even discussed the possibility of their being dispensed with altogether.

26-1-03.

AJUNTA.

1. Note by Viceroy, dated April 1902, on restorations in Ajunta Caves.

No. 1.—There are wooden doors and wire-windows in this cave : but insects are burrowing through the surface of the frescoes, and are making nests on the surface. They should be carefully removed without detriment to the painting.

No. 2.—The wire-doors are in need of repair. The heads of the Buddha and the other figures require to be washed. The nests of insects must be scraped off from the roof.

No. 4.—This cave is given up to bats. They should be driven out ; and wire doors and windows should be inserted.

No. 6.—Upstairs section. Bats should be excluded by wire doors and windows.

The lower storey is a ruin, but the head of the Buddha in the apse should be washed or scraped clean of paint.

No. 10.—(*A chaitya*) Iron bands should be placed as supports round the tottering pillars.

No. 11.—Wire door and window frames required.

No. 16.—Wire door and window frames required. Insect nests must also be scraped off.

No. 20.—Wire door and window frames required.

No. 21.—Wire door and window frames required. Also clean head of Buddha in apse.

No. 23.—Wire door and window frames required.

2. Letter from Viceroy, to Lord George Hamilton, dated 17th April 1902, on Ajunta Caves.

I have once again to inflict upon you, or rather upon myself (for the strain of writing is infinitely greater even than that of reading), the horror of a letter

written in an Indian train. The reason is that the mail closes to-night soon after I arrive at Agra, where I am spending a day in order to see LaTouche and to inspect all the repairs and restorations that are being carried out under my orders, in the priceless buildings at that place. I suppose that more has been done towards this object in different parts of India during the past 3 years than during any previous 20 : and I shall certainly leave the ancient monuments of India in a very different condition from that in which I found them. Marshall, the new Archæologist whom you sent out, is to meet me at Agra and go round with me. I made his acquaintance before leaving Calcutta, and thought him rather distinguished in appearance and quite becomingly keen. I told him that he must learn Sanskrit at once, in order to be able to deal with inscriptions, one of the most important branches of Indian Archæology. I have just myself come from visiting the famous caves of Ajunta in the northern outskirts of Hyderabad territory. Though they are among the most famous and remarkable remains in India (a series of chapels and monasteries hewn by the Buddhists in the rock, about, or soon after, the Christian era, and adorned with exquisite though fast perishing frescoes), no Governor-General or Viceroy has ever been to see them. Even now with railways the journey is not easy. For I had to drive 38 miles one afternoon and back again the same distance the next, seeing the caves in the early morning, owing to the great heat. It was 110° in the verandah, shaded from the sun. The Nizam sent his Engineer to meet me there with orders to carry out any instructions that I might give.

ALLAHABAD.

Letter (Extract) from Sir A. P. MacDonnell, dated 19th October 1900, on the Khusru Bagh.

The Khusru Bagh at Allahabad (to which the letter I beg to return refers) is now in very good order. The tombs were repaired last year at a cost of about Rs. 4,000. When I last rode past the gardens (last February), I noticed nothing wrong with the outside wall ; but I will have enquiries made. Possibly Your Excellency does not know that the Allahabad Water Works were built (by permission of a former Lieutenant-Governor) in the Khusru Bagh, taking up about a fourth of it. The site is convenient from the engineering and sanitary point of view ; but opinions will differ as to the propriety of placing pumping engines and filter beds alongside Prince Khusru's Tomb.

AMRITSAR.

Letter from Hon'ble Mr. A. Anderson, C.I.E., Commissioner, Lahore Division, to Major G. A. Robertson, Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, dated 3rd November 1902, on the presentation of a clock to the Golden Temple at Amritsar on behalf of Viceroy.

As desired in your demi-official of the 19th September, I write to inform Sir Charles Rivaz of the fact that I was able on the 31st October to present to the Golden Temple at Amritsar, on behalf of the Viceroy, the clock which His Excellency had sent for that purpose.

The day selected was the day of the Diwali festival when vast crowds of Sikhs had assembled to bathe in the sacred tank. We had an official reception on the platform of the Clock Tower. I was received by a guard of honour of the Police, and the Police band played the National Anthem on my arrival and departure. On ascending the platform I was met by Sardar Arur Singh, the Manager of the Temple, and conducted by him to a seat. On either side were ranged in rows the chief men of the city and neighbourhood, including the darbaris who reside in or near Amritsar, the Municipal Commissioners, the Extra Assistant Commissioners, the Granthis of the Temple, the lambardars of the Akalbungha, the chief pujaris and others. Among them was a deputation from the Khalsa College. The Deputy Commissioner, Assistant Commissioners and the District Superintendent of Police were also present. On the table in front of me was placed the Viceroy's gift, lying on a richly embroidered velvet cloth. The covering which concealed the clock was then removed so that the assembly could see the Viceroy's gift and I proceeded to deliver an address, of which I enclose a copy. A translation of the address was then read out by Sardar Bahadur Arjan Singh of Chahil, a former Manager of the Temple, and immediately after this the assembly rose. I then proceeded down the steps into the temple enclosure and walked on a strip of red carpet round the north-west corner of the tank through the "Darshani darwaza" along the causeway to the shrine itself. An official of the Temple carried the clock lying on the folded velvet cloth on a tray in front of me, and I was followed by the Deputy Commissioner, the Manager and some eight or ten of the principal Sikhs present (the rest of the assembly remaining meanwhile on the Clock Tower platform). There were crowds of Sikhs all round the tank who looked on with great interest on the procession, and as I passed opposite the Akalbungha a knot of Akali devotees stationed there raised

loud cries of rejoicing. As we entered the Darshani darwaza, and also on our return, a band supplied by the Temple authorities played the National Anthem. The shrine itself was entered by the north door and garlands were presented by the officiating priests. The music of the Temple then ceased and the "ardasia" on duty recited in a high monotone the formal Prayer of Offering according to the usual liturgy of the "ardas": a very interesting and impressive bit of ritual, in which the names of the Sikh Gurus were first introduced, then that of the King-Emperor, and then the name of the present benefactor, Lord Curzon, was duly proclaimed. The moment the prayer was ended, a shower of rose leaves descended from the galleries above, and the clock was deposited before the Granth alongside of the sacred scriptures.

I then spent a few minutes looking at the building, and more especially at the position suggested by Lord Curzon for the clock, and then left the shrine by the north door and walked round it, keeping it on my right hand, and passed slowly back along the causeway and the north-west corner of the tank to the Clock Tower.

It is the regular custom at the Temple that any person presenting an offering of any value should receive in exchange a token of acknowledgment, known as a "siropa." In accordance with this custom the guardians of the Temple have presented to me for the acceptance of Lord Curzon a shawl and a turban-cloth which I am sending to you with this letter, with the request that it be forwarded to His Excellency. It will be sufficient if the Temple authorities be now given a merely formal acknowledgment of the receipt of the "siropa."

Enclosure of above : Address by Hon'ble Mr. A. Anderson.

It gives me peculiar pleasure to have so soon after taking charge of this Division, the opportunity of participating in a ceremony so unique as that in which we are now to be engaged. You have in this Darbar Sahib many valuable gifts presented by the Maharajas and Chiefs of former and present times. You have also several interesting memorials commemorating the devotion of gallant Sikh regiments, and you have in your temple itself a standing product of innumerable offerings bestowed by Sikhs of all classes and periods. It is now my gratifying duty to present to the Darbar Sahib, on behalf of His Excellency the Viceroy, a gift which will add to the attraction of your celebrated shrine and at the same time attest the interest which His Excellency has always felt in the community which you represent. As you are most of you aware, Lord Curzon, when visiting Amritsar more than two years ago, was struck with the somewhat unworthy appearance of the clock which used to hang upon the walls of the Harmandar. His Excellency at that time offered to replace this clock by one of a character more in keeping with the surroundings, and he has since then devoted much time and trouble to the fulfilment of this undertaking. The clock which I am now about to present to you has been executed according to his designs, by one of the best known

firms in England. Its case which is of chiselled and gilded brass has been designed to harmonise as far as possible with the features and style of the Golden Temple and bears an inscription indicating the circumstances under which it has been presented by the Viceroy. It will, I am sure, be with sincere pleasure that His Excellency will hear of my having been able to make this presentation on the occasion of the Diwali festival when such vast numbers of Sikhs are gathered together at this historic centre, and I am commissioned by His Excellency to express his hope that the gift may be regarded as an evidence of his interest in the religion and holy place of worship of the brave and loyal Sikh people.

I trust, Gentlemen, that by the blessing of God, this clock may record nothing but happy and prosperous hours for yourselves and for the community to which you belong.

AURANGABAD.

1. Letter from Hon'ble Colonel D. W. K. Barr, C.S.I., Resident at Hyderabad, dated 13th January 1901, on the preservation of relics in the "Bibi Mukbarra".

In continuation of my letter of the 1st January about art relics at Aurangabad, I enclose a copy of a letter, dated the 12th January 1901, from the Minister, and the printed correspondence and catalogue to which he alludes.

You will see that steps have been taken to give effect to His Excellency the Viceroy's wishes for the future care of the china, carpets, and other articles in the "Bibi Mukbarra," and that orders have been issued for the formation of a museum in one of the buildings attached to the tomb.

The Nizam's Government ought to be much obliged to Mr. Freshfield for bringing the matter to notice, and if His Excellency would wish me to do so, I will gladly send him a copy of the printed papers if you will give me his address in London.

Enclosure of No. 1 :

- Letter from the Prime Minister to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, to the Resident at Hyderabad, dated 12th January 1901.

*With reference to our conversation regarding the old china, copper and brass ware, etc., in existence in the Rabia Dowrani Mukbarra at Aurangabad, I have the pleasure to forward herewith copies of correspondence which will show the measures which are being taken to preserve these articles of interest.

2. I have already explained to you that as these things were originally dedicated to the Tomb of Rabia Dowrani, it is against the religious custom of Muhammadans to remove them from the place to which they have been consecrated.

3. You will find in the correspondence a complete catalogue of the articles which at present exist in the Mukbarra.

2. Letter from Viceroy, to D. Freshfield, Esq., dated 31st March 1901, on the preservation of relics in the "Bibi Mukbarra".

Upon my referring to Hyderabad the subject of all the articles that you brought to my notice in the "Bibi Mukbarra" at Aurangabad, the Nizam at once ordered a detailed list of the objects to be prepared, and one of the buildings to be converted into a Museum for their proper preservation.

BADAUN.

1. Extract from a letter (undated) from H. Beveridge, Esq., London, on the tomb of Abdul Qadir Badaoni in Atapur.

I beg leave to enclose a copy of my notes* on Persian manuscripts in Indian
Libraries and also a copy of my note
about the historian Badaoni's burial-place.

* Not printed.

Perhaps His Excellency the Viceroy may care to look at these on account of the interest which he takes in Indian history and Indian antiquities.

I beg leave to suggest that steps should be taken to preserve the tomb of Badaoni, and to distinguish it from those of his relatives. Badaoni has been called the Eastern Procopius, but really his history is a better and abler work than that of Abul Fazl.

Enclosure of No. 1 : Extract from Proceedings of Asiatic Society of Bengal for December 1900.

Mr. Blochmann in his valuable paper on Badaoni and his works (J.A.S.B., Vol. XXXVIII Part I, p. 144) says "Mr. Harrison (of the Barqilly College) informs me that a gentleman in Badaon has been at some pains to discover among the numerous and decaying tombs of 'Atapur' the grave which encloses the remains of Abdul Qadir, but that his efforts have not been successful. It would be anything but antiquarian sentimentality to renew the search for the resting place of a man who has left us not exactly the fullest, yet the most original and independent history of the great Emperor."

This was published in 1869, and I am happy to be able to inform the Society that Badayuni's grave is still extant, and that it was pointed out to me on the 12th December 1899 by Qazi Ali Ahmad Mahmud Ullah Shah, a resident of Badaun and a gentleman who is interested in historical studies.†

The grave lies in a field about two miles east of the town of Badaun and on the left hand side of the road leading to Shahjahanpur. There are at least six tombs there, and none has any name or date, but tradition identifies one of them as Badayuni's. The others are those of members of his family. They are in a small patch of waste land, raised above the level of the rest of the field, and covered with clumps of the long grass (elephant-grass ?) from which Munj-

† It is Tufail Ahmed, a brother of this gentleman and a pleader of the Badaun Court, who has repaired the Chief Mosque of Badaun.

Matting is made. The village of 'Atapur,' where Badayuni is said to have been buried, has ceased to be inhabited or to be remembered, and the field is reckoned as included in the village of Mujhia. It seems desirable that steps should be taken to preserve the graves and also to mark the one which is Badayuni's.

At p. 134 Mr. Blochmann says that it was the transfer of Badayuni's grant of land from Bisawar to Badaun which has procured for him the name of Badayuni. But the local account is that Badaun was the home of his ancestors, though he himself was born at Tunda near Bisawar on the road from Agra to Ajmer. The quarter of the town of Badaun where his ancestors lived is still pointed out.

There is an excellent account of Badayuni in Moulvi Muhammad Husain Shams-al-Ulama's *Darbar-i-Akbari* (Lahore, 1898), and at p. 461 of it there is a reference to the grave. The author there quoted under the *takhallus* of Khushgo, is, I presume, the Rai Bakhtawar Singh whose *Chronicles of Badaun* were published at Bareilly in 1868. Muhammad Husain adds that Badayuni is said to have left a daughter whose descendants still live in Khasiabad in Oudh.

It will be observed that I have written the name, Badayuni. This is in accordance with the Gazetteer of the North-Western Provinces, and the *Darbar-i-Akbari*, and also with the pronunciation of some native gentlemen. Others seem to pronounce it Badauni, i.e., with the *u* short. But the town is always spelt Badaun, and the *o* of the Badaoni seems wrong, unless merely intended to prevent the *a* as being pronounced as a diphthong. See however Mr. Blochmann's Note on the point.

2. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Captain E. C. Bayley, Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 3rd May 1901.

I am desired to forward the enclosed note, which has been sent to me by Mr. Beveridge. His Excellency thinks that His Honour might care to take some steps for the preservation of the tomb of Badaoni.

Enclosure of No. 2:

See Enclosure of No. 1 above.

3. *Letter (Extract) from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to H. Beveridge, Esq., dated 3rd May 1901.*

I am desired to thank you for your letter (undated) enclosing a copy of your notes on Persian MSS. I have written to the authorities regarding the tombs of Badaoni * * * and I hope that early steps will be taken to preserve the resting places of those illustrious men.

4. *Letter from R. G. Hardy, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, dated 12th July 1901.*

With reference to your letter of 3rd May addressed to Captain Bayley (the enclosure of which I return), I am desired to say that the Lieutenant-Governor has had a careful enquiry made regarding the supposed tomb of Badaoni, with the result that no valid reasons are to be found for believing that Badaoni's tomb can be identified.

Qazi Ali Ahmad Mahmud Ullah Shah is an eccentric and not altogether reliable individual, and when he was asked to quote some authority to show that the tomb which he showed to Mr. Beveridge was that of Badaoni, he could only say that there was a tradition to that effect. As he was the sole repository of that tradition, I fear his evidence is of very little value.

BHUBANESWAR.

1. Note by Viceroy, dated 20th December 1900, on restoration of the temples at Bhubaneswar.

At Bhubaneswar I climbed on to a roof, or platform, overlooking the temple wall, from which a fair view could be obtained of the interior. I saw the work being undertaken by the Engineer in repairing the roofs of some of the shrines. In renovating the lotus-shaped caps that crown the roofs of the main sanctuary and its porch, he had, while making them of stone, which is right, committed the mistake of painting them a chocolate red-colour, which was entirely out of keeping with the surroundings, and gave to the restoration a grotesquely modern appearance. I told him that this should be scraped off, and he undertook to do it.

I could form no opinion as to the restoration of the lintels of the doorways, because I could not see them from the wall. Neither could Mr. Arnot, since he had not been admitted to the interior, and might, for all that he knew, be humbugged or swindled at every turn by his native subordinates. It struck me as very absurd that the Bengal Government should be willing to spend money upon the restoration of this group of temples, but that, owing to the supposed prejudices of the peasant population of this tiny place, which ought to be overjoyed to get any money spent upon it at all, the Engineer should not even be permitted to inspect the work which it was proposed to undertake. This refusal to admit non-Hindoos even to the temple enclosure prevails, so far as I know, in no other part of India, where it is the shrine, and the shrine alone, that must not be desecrated by alien feet (*e.g.*, Benares, Brindabun, Muttra, Nasik, Madura, Tanjore, Srirangam—all of them very sacred Hindu sanctuaries), and ought not, in my opinion, to be tolerated in the present case at Bhubaneswar. If the Government is prepared to expend money upon restoring the temples, the Government Engineer must be admitted into the enclosure, in order to see what should be done. I expressed myself somewhat freely to this effect in the hearing of the Temple Committee and the leading villagers: and a hint was subsequently conveyed to Mr. Luson that for a small solatium of Rs. 50 they would admit the Engineer or any one else. I have no doubt that it will be unnecessary to pay even this small bribe. The plea of exclusion is an unreasonable one, and ought not to be encouraged.

What is wanted, however, in the temple enclosure is not merely the casual repair of a couple of lintels, or the patching of the two main cupolas—but

a sustained, though quite inexpensive, programme of renovation continued for one or two years. The interior should be cleared of jungle, the holes filled up, the paving stones relaid, the whole place made tidy. I pointed out to Mr. Arnot a number of subsidiary shrines, the stones composing the roof of which were tumbling or sliding out of their places, but could without difficulty be replaced. In some cases new caps, or finials, would be wanted to the cupolas. Where fresh stone work is required, it should not be difficult to utilize the masses of stone that are everywhere lying about in the deserted temples in the village, and that have taken on the colour of age, instead of quarrying fresh material. As the villagers freely use these stones in the construction of their own houses, they cannot object to its employment in the repair of their temples.

The Engineer, after being admitted to the enclosure (which could easily be arranged by Mr. Luson), should submit a plan and estimate of what he considers necessary to complete the work—a few thousand rupees would probably cover the whole. The Temple Funds would be able to contribute towards this object, were they administered in a more intelligent way. Every year several hundred rupees (I think 800) are squandered in making a new temple car for the procession of the image. The car is then broken up. Puri and Bhubaneswar are the only places where I have come across this foolish and wasteful practice. At all the beforementioned sacred places of the Hindu faith, where cars are employed, the same car is used for years in succession, and is kept in the interval, either in a big shed near the temples, or, more frequently, in the streets outside the gates. I have seen more than a dozen cars so standing. If the car of Jagannath is regarded as so sacred that it must yearly be destroyed, and its fragments contended for by emulous pilgrims, there can scarcely be a similar justification in the case of the forlorn and half-deserted shrines of Bhubaneswar. I do not know what the Temple Committee would say, but I would put it to them, as business men, whether it would not be a more economical arrangement to build a substantial car, which would last for 20 or 30 years, or even longer, instead of wasting Rs. 800 per annum.

I should add that the presence of a Bengali pleader from Cuttack as Chairman of the Temple Committee—which is perhaps necessitated by the absence of any duly qualified local candidate seemed, from what I saw and heard, to be the source of some local friction.

Mr. Luson would no doubt be able, in a short time, to report upon the suggestions contained in this note; and I should be grateful if the Bengal Government could devote the sustained attention to these buildings, involving in all probability quite a modest outlay, which their great historical interest and intrinsic beauty deserve.

2. Letter from Sir J. Woodburn, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 28th December 1900, on restoration of the temples at Bhubaneswar.

The temple at Bhubaneswar, to which Your Excellency's note refers, was spoiled before I ever saw it. The plastering and the painting had been done before my first visit of two years ago by an old native Engineer, not in Government employ. I have had nothing to do with it but to supplement some inadequate local subscriptions to prevent the actual fall of the main building. What I did was to restore, by at least less vandalistic processes, some smaller but much more beautiful specimens of the style, a mile away from the main temple. To those temples there is no prohibition of access, and such funds as I have to spare for Orissa I have proposed to expend in the preservation of a group of temples in their neighbourhood. I shall avail myself of an opportunity to speak to you about this.

BIJAPUR AND KARLI.

- 1. Note by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 11th November 1900, on preservation of Karli and other caves in the Poona District.**

I have visited the Karli caves. The great cave is in a satisfactory state of preservation and has lately been redeemed from many of the horrors described in these papers. A custodian is about to be appointed. The main thing is to instruct him, while allowing the Hindu procession to the cave (an almost superfluous concession) to insist that no daubing or painting shall be permitted on the dagoba itself. I found it still smeared with red and blue paint and black with the oil drippings from disgusting *chiraghs*. I am communicating on this point with the Governor of Bombay.

- 2. Letter from Viceroy, to Lord Northcote, C.B., G.C.I.E., dated 13th November 1900, on restoration of Karli Caves and buildings at Bijapur.**

I will send you a few words about the places that I visited in your territory.

I had with me the recent correspondence about the Karli Caves. I hope that the new custodian will shortly take up his work. I understand that it has been decided to allow the annual Hindu procession to visit the temple ; and with this proposal I do not quarrel. But I think it should be very clearly laid down that they are not at liberty either then, or at any other time, to daub, or besmear, or besmirch the great stone dagoba in the apse. This they still continue to do. I found red and blue chalk or paint smearings upon it, while the surface was streaked with long black lines of oil, guttering from the little *chiraghs*, or lamps, which the Hindus place in the tiny niches in the stone. The local Engineer (Public Works Department) told me that no orders had been issued on this point. Of course there is no point in purging and shutting off the cave if we are still to allow these Hindu intruders to defile it ; and I shall be glad if you will confirm what I said on the point to the local officers. At Bijapur I observed some monumental examples of Public Works Department sacrilege in earlier days. The principal building is the Gol Gumbaz, or huge domed mausoleum, of one of the Adil Shabs. Adjoining it on the same platform is the mosque that it was common to attach to such tombs. Would you believe that this

mosque has been converted into a travellers' bungalow ? Partition walls have been run up, and it was occupied at the time of my visit. Mr. Drew, the Collector, concurred with me that this gross mistake, which caused, he said, a good deal of feeling among the local Muhammadans, ought at once to be rectified ; and he added that it could be done at very slight expense ; the more so as there are other buildings in which he thinks it will be possible to locate the bungalow with equal ease.

Some years ago a most exquisite little mosque was converted into the British Post Office. Its restoration has at some subsequent date been decreed : but although the Post Office has been ejected, I found the incision in the outer wall into which letters were dropped, with the Post Office inscription "For Letters" above it, still remaining, the artificial windows cut by us still disfiguring the walls, the English fittings and shutters still *in situ*, and, *horribile dictu*, the wooden racks and pigeon holes still surviving in the *mihrab*, or prayer-niche. I ordered all of these to be removed at once.

In the Jumma Musjid I found a collection of beautiful prayer-carpets dating from the time of Aurungzeb rotting away from want of a little care. They are, when not in use, rolled up and stacked anyhow, in a little apartment partially open to the air. I said that they ought all to be overhauled, patched and repaired, and stored in wooden chests. I wonder if you would be so good as to issue orders to this effect.

Everywhere I found the beautiful old wooden doors with iron knobs perishing, because people are allowed to splash whitewash upon them, and because no one interferes with the rust. I spoke about the matter to Mr. Ahmadi, the District Engineer, himself somewhat of an enthusiast.

The conversion of old Muhammadan buildings into civil residences or offices has proceeded too far to admit of rectification. Nor do I myself greatly object to the conversion of a civil or domestic building of the Mussulman days to modern civil and domestic purposes, provided that it contains no special features or beauty worthy of preservation on their own account. For this reason I would not propose the re-conversion of the Collector's house (though this, by the way, was a tomb), the Assistant Collector's house, or the Hall of Audience. All have been modernized and spoiled. But there was not much to conserve. Nor do I object to the entrance gateway that has been converted into an English Church.

I cannot say the same of Mr. Ahmadi's own house. This is a tomb, one of two that stood side by side and are called, I think, the Sisters, or the Twins, or something of the sort. One is unoccupied : the other is the Engineer's residence. What is worse still, a passage has been built connecting the latter with the adjoining mosque ; and the latter has been converted into the Engineer's zenana ! Mr. Ahmadi said that local feeling was not aroused at this atrocity, because the individual over whom the tomb had been raised was a scoundrel, or a robber, or a traitor, I forget which. But even he seemed a little ashamed of his surroundings.

I do not know if enough money is likely to be available to admit of the re-conversion of these buildings ; or, if so, whether it would now be thought worth while. I suggested to the Collector that he should draw up an estimate of the cost of restoration and of providing for the Engineer elsewhere : and perhaps at some later date you will let me hear more about the matter. I think that it is an object of secondary importance, but that it should certainly be borne in mind.

If money is forthcoming for purposes of restoration, undoubtedly it ought to be devoted to the repair of the carved stone brackets supporting the magnificent projecting exterior cornice of the Gol Gumbaz. A large part of this has perished and tumbled down. Twenty years ago Major Cole, at that time Curator of Ancient Monuments, reported that this should be the first duty. But not one penny has been spent upon it ever since. It would be an expensive job, because there is a lot to repair, and because a high scaffolding would have to be erected. It could be done, however, by degrees, and the scaffolding moved from one side to another.

3. *Letter from C. H. A. Hill, Esq., Private Secretary to the Governor of Bombay, dated 23rd January 1901, enclosing his memorandum on restoration of Karli Caves and buildings at Bijapur.*

Referring to His Excellency the Viceroy's letter of 13th November last, to Lord Northcote, I am desired by His Excellency to enclose, for information, a memorandum showing the result of the enquiries and the action proposed to be taken in connection with the Karli Caves and the buildings at Bijapur.

Enclosure of No. 3:

The Memorandum.

1. **KARLI CAVES.**—Government have sanctioned the appointment of a care-taker, and arrangements have been made to get a suitable man to fill the post. Instructions will be given to the care-taker for regulating admission to the caves : and the people who hold the annual procession will be allowed to bring the *palki* and procession into the Chaitya hall on the distinct understanding that no *shendur* (red lead) is plastered about.

2. **BIJAPUR BUILDINGS**—(a) *Removal of Travellers' Bungalow.*—It is proposed to convert the building known as the Yacub Mahal (at present used as a museum) into a travellers' bungalow. This will provide three sets of rooms in place of the four now available in the old mosque.

It is proposed to convert an old building, known as the Mint, to serve as a museum.

The restoration of the mosque now used as a travellers' bungalow will be provided for.

(b) *Mosque formerly used as a Post Office.*—An estimate for restoring this to its original state has already been forwarded to the Archaeological Surveyor for opinion and report, and necessary action will be taken on receipt of reply.

(c) *Preservation of old prayer-carpets in the Jumma Musjid.*—Action is being taken to repair the carpets and to provide a chest for their safe custody.

(d) *Preservation of old carved doors and prohibition against daubing whitewash.*—It appears that the Public Works Department have all along tried to stop the practice of whitewashing but its prevention is not easy. It is not only the cheapest way of showing attention to departed ancestors and saints, but unfortunately has acquired the sanction of sanctity. The buildings containing tombs of saints in Bijapur are regularly whitewashed once a year previous to their anniversary day, and other tombs and mosques, in which anyone is interested, are similarly sprinkled over with whitewash as a mark of respect. The practice is gradually disappearing in such of the buildings as are in charge of the Public Works Department; and it is hoped that it will entirely stop as people come to know that it is disliked by Government. An estimate for removal of whitewashing has been sent to Mr. Cousens, and, when received back approved, an appropriation will be given.

(e) *Removal of Executive Engineer from his house.*—It is estimated that to do this, something like Rs. 30,000 will be required: as His Excellency the Viceroy considers this matter one of secondary importance, it is not proposed, in view of present financial condition, to take any action at present. With regard to Mr. Ahmadi having converted an old mosque into his zenana, he explains as follows:—"I am afraid there has been some misunderstanding. The 'Two Sisters' or the 'Jod Gumbaz' is a group of buildings consisting of two large domes of nearly equal dimensions, and two smaller ones. One of the former is the tomb of Abdur Razak Qadri, a saint, and is excluded from the residence of the Executive Engineer in deference to the feelings of the Musalmans. The other three are joined together by corridors and form together the residence of the Executive Engineer. If the tomb of Abdur Razak is meant by the 'Second of Sisters of the Twins,' I beg to say that I have neither converted it into my zenana, nor have made use of it, in the remotest degree, for any purposes of my own. It is exactly in the same condition as it was when I took charge of this office three years ago. If one of the other three domes is meant, I beg to say that they were converted long ago to make into the Executive Engineer's residence. They are meant for his residence, have been so used by my predecessors, and I have been doing the same."

It is proposed to send the reports which have been received from District Officers in connection with the enquiries consequent on His Excellency the Viceroy's letter, to Mr. Cousens for opinion: and if he sees no objection, detailed plans and estimates will be called for.

4. Letter from Viceroy, to D. Freshfield, Esq., dated 31st March 1901, on restorations at Bijapur.

I have done a good deal at Bijapur. The dâk bungalow has been re-converted to a mosque. The Post Office (an exquisite little building) has had all the Post

Office mutilations and fittings swept away. I hope before long to take in hand the brackets of the cornice of the huge domed tomb. All the carpets have been gone through, repaired, catalogued and properly stored. I hope to turn the Engineer out of his tomb and mosque a little later. I ordered a number of minor repairs on spot.

5. Letter from Viceroy, to Lord George Hamilton, dated 1st May 1901, on restorations at Bijapur.

In connection with an answer, recently given by Hardwicke in the House of Lords, in respect of an alleged case of vandalism at Bijapur, you may like to know, for the information of Lord Stanley of Alderley, or Lord Stanmore, that I looked very minutely into the matter, when I was down there last autumn, and have been in correspondence with Northcote regarding it. Since then under my instructions the mosque adjoining the big domed tomb of Sultan Mahmud, which had been converted into a travellers' bungalow, has been purged of these abominations, and restored to its original use. Another exquisite little mosque which had been used as a Post Office by the Civil Administration, has also been cleared of all these appurtenances and re-converted. I further had all the prayer-carpets in the Jumma Musjid carefully repaired and catalogued. Finally, as regards the house occupied by the Executive Engineer, the following are the facts of the case. There are two large domed tombs commonly known as the "Two Sisters" which stand in close proximity to each other. One of these, which is the tomb of a saint, is unoccupied, and is still open to Muhammadan use and worship. The second tomb is the residence of the Executive Engineer. He lives on the first floor, the tombs being in the crypt or vault below. Adjoining this Gumbaz are two smaller buildings, one of which is a prayer-chamber, or oratory, which have been connected by stone corridors with the main building; and which are occupied by the domestic establishment of the Executive Engineer. It would, no doubt, be better if all of these were re-converted, and if the Engineer were turned out; but I ascertained that this operation alone would cost not less than £2,000, and inasmuch as there are far more beautiful and more important remains at Bijapur, earnestly calling for expenditure upon restoration, I agreed with Northcote that this undertaking might for a time, at any rate, be postponed.

6. Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Lord Northcote, dated 19th June 1902, on Bijapur relics.

There is another archaeological matter that I may mention. I feel very strongly, and our new Director General, Marshall, agrees with me, that we ought

to encourage local collections or museums where there are numerous remains of a particular style, character, or epoch, instead of huddling together a lot of stones, slabs, etc., in a central museum, where they are easily lost sight of, and where their identity is apt before long to be forgotten. I therefore strongly urge that you should form such a collection at Bijapur, instead of dragging off the stones and sculptures to Poona, or even to Bombay. What is really wanted are strict orders to the Collector and Engineers at Bijapur to see that the collection is properly housed, looked after, labelled, and kept up.

7. Letter from Lord Northcote, dated 28th June 1902, on Bijapur relics.

The difficulty about the Bijapur relics is that there is not a soul there who cares twopence about them, and, under these circumstances, real care is difficult to enforce. When we were there, a man was imported from Bombay to explain them to us.

8. Note by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 12th July 1903.

I agree with what Mr. Marshall has said about the Gol Gumbaz (Bijapur), and I find that as long ago as November 13th, 1900, I wrote as follows to Lord Northcote :—

“ If money is forthcoming for purposes of restoration, undoubtedly it ought to be devoted to the repair of the carved stone brackets supporting the magnificent projecting exterior cornice of the Gol Gumbaz. A large part of this has perished and tumbled down. Twenty years ago Major Cole reported that this should be the first duty. But not one penny has been spent upon it ever since. It would be an expensive job, because there is a lot to repair, and because a high scaffolding would have to be erected. It could be done, however, by degrees, and the scaffolding moved from one side to another.”

2. When the most beautiful and striking external feature of a building, in itself beautiful and unique, is in a state of pitiable and increasing decay, not even the strongest advocate of conservation as against restoration could argue that our duty should be confined to the former and should stop short of repair. Conservation ceases to be a sound principle, if the object to be conserved is allowed to fall into a state which renders conservation almost a reproach.

3. As regards the policy of restitution, I certainly never contemplated that mosques or tombs which are given back to the Muhammadans should either be shut up, or disfigured, or ill-used. Indeed, I have been much more concerned

with their rescue from decay, vandalism, or desecration, than with the resumption of Muhammadan worship in them. I have indeed assumed that in many cases the restored buildings would be again open to Muhammadan worship. But I have also assumed that they would be not less open than before to public inspection, and that having saved them from the destructive carelessness or the uncultured neglect of white men, we were not going to hand them back to the dirt and defilement of Asiatic religious practices.

4. I therefore think that not only should Government attach conditions when any such restitution is made, but that we should threaten resumption of the building, if the conditions are not fulfilled.

The attention of the Bombay Government in particular ought to be drawn to the cases mentioned by Mr. Marshall, and in the event of the local Muhammadans declining to comply with such reasonable conditions as may be prescribed, the threat of resumption should be employed.

BODH-GAYA.

1. Letter from His Honour Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, C.S.I., Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 9th January 1903. Encloses memorandum and note on Bodh-Gaya Temple.

When I had the honour of dining with Your Excellency in Calcutta just before you left for Delhi, I said that I should like to be allowed to submit a short note on the Bodh-Gaya Temple, and you were good enough to say that you would like to see it.

I now forward a short Memorandum in print with a few notes by myself. These do not pretend to be exhaustive, and references are not given to all the correspondence on the subject which has taken place since 1891. All that I intended the notes to do was to inform Your Excellency of the general situation, leaving for detailed enquiry in future any point on which further information may be desired.

I venture to think that the temple *ought* to be made over to the Buddhists and the Hindu rites stopped, which disgust and outrage the Buddhist pilgrims, and are revolting even to the casual visitor. You will see, I expect, the colossal figure of Buddha in the basement of the temple, not simple and unadorned, but dressed in tawdry tinsel, and smeared with caste marks, with Hindu offerings before it : and at the back of the temple, when I was there with Sir John Woodburn, we saw under the sacred Bodhi tree of the Buddhists, where everything should tend to devotion and contemplation—Hindu priests chanting noisy hymns.

The attitude of Government hitherto has been one of neutrality, though Sir A. Mackenzie strongly desired to make over the temple to the Buddhists. But my personal feeling is that the time has come for action, and for righting a great wrong. It would, of course, be undesirable to give offence to the whole Hindu community, but I believe that beyond the clamours of certain Native papers, which would be inevitable, there would be no real opposition from the Hindus, to a restoration of the temple to the Buddhists under proper conditions as to access or, at any rate, to the purification of the shrine and its immediate precincts for Hindu rites.

I am sending a volume of the papers in the criminal case which took place in 1895, with certain passages marked therein.

Your Excellency will find the Collector, Mr. Oldham, full of information on the subject. May I add that he is a particularly sensitive and diffident man, and may require a little drawing out.

I hope Your Excellency will enjoy your tour, and that you will find all the arrangements satisfactory.

Enclosures of No. 1:

(1) *Memorandum by Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 9th January 1903.*

As His Excellency the Viceroy is about to visit Gaya, it is essential that he should be informed not only of the archaeological history of the famous shrine at Bodh-Gaya, but also of the events which have taken place there within the last ten years, and of the present situation. With this object I have caused to be prepared in the Bengal Secretariat a Memorandum stating the facts, and now add a few brief notes dealing principally with the question whether any, and if so what, steps should be taken to control the worship of the temple, or to make it over altogether to the Buddhists.

2. The broad facts are these. The Bodh-Gaya Temple, a building of great antiquity, has always been a Buddhist shrine of special sanctity and repute; after the advent of the Muhammadans to India it fell into decay. In the year 1727 the village in which stands the temple, then a mere heap of ruins, was granted to the Shaivite Mahanth of a neighbouring Math or monastery, and the possession of the temple passed with the land. Throughout 20 centuries the place has remained an object of veneration and of pilgrimage to Buddhists all over the world, but with the development of communications and intelligence renewed interest in it has been awakened, and during the last 25 years it has become much more widely known and largely visited than before. In 1876 attention was drawn to the shrine by the proposal of the King of Burma to restore it; but the work of restoration was taken out of his hands by the Government of Bengal, which undertook the clearance of rubbish and the excavation and restoration of the ruins, a work which was concluded in 1884 at a cost of 2 lakhs of rupees. In 1891 a Society, named the Mahabodhi Society, was formed, of which one of the leading objects was the restoration of the Temple at Bodh-Gaya to the Buddhists. Attempts were made in 1894 to assert in a more effective manner their claims to the temple. These attempts were repelled by force, and in retaliation the Mahanth commenced to introduce a travesty of Hindu worship in and near the temple, which has disgusted the Buddhists, and is not accepted as genuine by true Hindus.

3. Meanwhile the Buddhist community, as represented by the Mahabodhi Society, have been unceasing in their efforts to obtain a more secure footing and larger privileges at Bodh-Gaya, and it is, I believe, the unanimous desire of all those officials who have been most intimately connected with the question, that by some means or other this most sacred shrine should be restored to the Buddhists, to whom it undoubtedly belongs. How this can be accomplished is the difficulty. The question is mainly one of money, and in a minor degree one of religious feeling and prestige.

4. Since the Bengal Government renewed the Bodh-Gaya Temple, and since improved communications have made access to it easy, the temple has become a valuable asset. Not only do Buddhist pilgrims visit the site, but one of the two Bodhi trees in the precincts has been declared to be one of the 45 holy places which Hindu pilgrims to Gaya should visit; it

is the custom that the Mahanth's men take the cash offered by visitors to the tree, while the Gayawals appropriate the other offerings. Hence the shrine brings in a certain income, which the Judge of Gaya stated at a guess to be not more than Rs. 1,000 a year. Moreover, the control of the temple is undoubtedly a source of prestige to the Mahanth, since his position as reputed proprietor of the shrine brings him into communication with all distinguished and wealthy visitors.

5. As regards the question of religious sentiment, I am of opinion that little real feeling on the subject exists. It is certain that the temple itself contains no Hindu objects of worship, except such as have been put there within the last few years to establish a claim, and that no Hindu worship has ever been conducted within it. Moreover, as regards worship outside the temple, this is insignificant, and the fact remains that while the Mahanth and his disciples are Shaivites, the articles which have been made objects of veneration have been so made by the Gayawals, who are Vishnavas.

It is understood lastly that the Mahanth of the monastery for the time being has full power to dispose of his interests in the temple.

6. If the above conclusions are correct, and if it is decided that the temple should be restored to the Buddhists if possible, it follows that the only question which remains is how this transfer is to be managed. There need be no hesitation as to the equity of the proposal, for until we repaired the temple at Government expense it was a worthless ruin. Sir A. Mackenzie, on his visit to Gaya in 1897, proposed to the Mahanth that he should frankly make over the temple and the surrounding grounds to the Buddhists, and threatened that if his wishes were not complied with, he would consider the question of legislation in order to enable him to acquire for the Buddhists the land they required. It was proposed to Sir John Woodburn that he should acquire the temple under the Land Acquisition Act, but agreeing with the Legal Remembrancer he would not accept this solution, as he was of opinion that the acquisition of a sacred site on behalf of a particular section of the community was not a public purpose within the meaning of the Act. For myself I had hoped that it might be possible to take possession of the temple under the new Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, but if the existing provision is maintained, which places beyond the purview of the Act all places used for worship, then this hope will not be fulfilled.

7. There remains the method of inducement, and I believe it would not be impossible

If, as is possible, he objects to *sell* his rights, to buy out the Mahanth, if he were paid a sufficient sum, and also offered some personal gratification. In 1899 he intimated that a round sum for the Math and a K.C.I.E. for himself might induce him to consider the matter, and it is possible that he may be amenable to similar influence still. If not, then I think it is worth considering whether the above-quoted provision of the Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments should not be modified or omitted.

8. Assuming that it has been decided to acquire the building, the next questions are—who is to provide the funds and on what conditions is the transfer to be made?

9. There is little doubt that the Buddhist community would find the money for purchasing the property if they were invited to do so, but in that case it might be difficult to prevent them from becoming absolute proprietors of it. On the other hand, the Government of India might acquire it, and it would then be the property of the State; when regard is had to the large sums already spent on the building without any return by the Government of Bengal,

there could be little equitable objection to bringing pressure to bear on the Mahanth in this direction. If the sum required is considerable, and public funds are not available, perhaps a middle course might be taken, and the money might be found by the Buddhists, and the property might be resumed by the State to be held in trust for them. This would enable a proper control to be maintained by a mixed Committee composed partly of Government officials and partly of persons nominated by the Buddhist subscribers. It would be necessary to reserve free right of entry to all pilgrims and visitors contingent on their good behaviour and on their observance of some simple rules of good conduct.

To recapitulate, the points seem to be these—

- (a) The temple is undoubtedly Buddhist and Buddhist worship has always been conducted there.
 - (b) It came accidentally under the control of Hindus together with the land on which it stands, but true Hindu worship has never been conducted there, and orthodox Hindus do not consider it a Hindu temple.
 - (c) It ought to be restored to the Buddhists. This would give immense satisfaction to a vast number of persons, and might prove an important political measure, while it would not, in all probability, be really resented by the Hindus.
 - (d) The Mahanth might be induced to surrender his rights in the temple together with sufficient land in the precincts in return for a sum to be paid by the Buddhists,
 - (e) If he remained obdurate, it is for consideration whether the Bill for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments might not be used for the purpose of securing this ancient shrine for the State.
 - (f) Once acquired, the property should vest in the Bengal Government, and the control be entrusted to a mixed Committee of officials, and non-official Buddhists.
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(2) *Memorandum by the Bengal Government with notes by Mr. J. A. Bourdillon.*

The most important object of antiquity in the district of Gaya is the Temple of Bodh-Gaya, built in the first century B.C. on the site of a still older one founded by the Emperor Asoka 150 years before that date. Since Asoka's time it has been a place of Buddhist pilgrimage and worship, and it appears that Buddhist pilgrims from China and Burma have visited it at different times. It is said that from the period of the Muhammadan conquest in India, until the advent of the British, the temple remained neglected, and that it was only in the early part of the last century that archaeologists first turned their attention to making researches into its history. Cunningham in his "Mahabodhi" (1892) says that Buddhist pilgrims visited the temple up to 1331 A.D., but he believes that the place was thereafter appropriated by the Brahmins. He, however, gives no reason for this conjecture, and there is evidence of the fact that Buddhist worship has gone on regularly in it in recent times. In the neighbourhood of the temple, about 400 yards from it, is a math or monastery which traces its origin back to the middle of the sixteenth century of the Christian era, and which was established by the Hindu sect of *Girs*, one of the ten *Shaivite* orders of Sankara Acharya who lived in the eighth or ninth century. About the year 1727 A.D., the then Mahanth

received, by Royal *firman* from the Mogul Emperor, Muhammād Shah Padshah Gazi, the grant of the village of Taradih, whereon the ruins of the temple stood, and thus acquired possession of the shrine, but though the Mahanth organisation have held the place for so long, the temple has never ceased to be regarded as a Buddhist place of worship. In 1876 the King Mindoon Min, of Burma, being anxious to carry out the work of restoration of the temple, and to construct a building on the adjacent ground for the accommodation of a number of Buddhist priests who wished to settle there for the performance of religious service at the shrine, deputed, with the permission of the Government of India, a party of Burmese officials and workmen for the purpose, but as the work was being done without regard to archaeological considerations, this Government deputed the late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra to visit the place, and, in consequence of his report, took the work of restoration into its own hands, and completed it, at a considerable cost, in 1884. The King of Burma's proposals had been communicated to the Mahanth, who had agreed to them, offering to give for the proposed building for priests, or monastery, a site free of cost. Information is wanting as to the construction of this building being actually taken in hand by the King's men who were sent to Bodh-Gaya ; but mention is subsequently made of the Burmese house for the accommodation of pilgrims, and there is reason to believe that a building was erected by the Burmese on the proposed site of the monastery ; the papers of the Public Works Department clearly show also that for years this building has been kept in repair as a rest-house by Government. After the repairs done to the temple by Government, it appears that the temple was placed in charge of the Magistrate of the district, a chaukidar being employed to look after it. In 1890, the then Magistrate of Gaya pointed out that this arrangement was not satisfactory, as continual petty repairs were necessary to prevent the building from again falling into decay, and the Magistrate had neither the money nor sufficient skilled supervision at hand to carry them out. He, therefore, recommended that it should be taken over by the Public Works Department. Accordingly in February of that year, orders were issued by this Government in the Public Works Department, by which the temple was brought on to the Public Works Department books and placed in charge of the Executive Engineer. A Public Works Department Overseer was at the same time appointed as custodian, whose duty it was to take charge of all the *chatyas*, pieces of sculpture and other relics found within the vicinity of the temple, and to draw up estimates for and carry out any repair and petty drainage works that might be necessary.

In 1891, the Mahabodhi Society was founded* by Buddhists in Ceylon, one of the objects

* In 1890, Mr. Grierson, Magistrate of Gaya, asked that the exact position of Government as regards the possession of the temple might be defined. Orders were deferred till the Lieutenant-Governor visited Gaya, but Sir Charles Elliott seems to have passed no orders.

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being the recovery of possession of the temple for the Buddhists. Early in 1893 an endeavour was made on behalf of the Society to obtain a conveyance or lease of the temple from the Mahanth, and on the negotiations for the purchase or lease failing, Mr. Dharmapala, General Secretary of the Society, it seems, applied to

this Government in April 1894 for assistance in obtaining the transfer of the temple from the Mahanth, but was told in reply that Government was not in a position to help him. In 1894, Mr. Dharmapala having, as he stated, been entrusted when in Japan in the preceding November, with a historical image of Buddha for enshrinement in the temple, announced in the Journal of the Society that the image would be placed in the temple on the 19th May, a very holy day with the Buddhists, in the presence of the District Magistrate of Gaya. There was no authority for the latter part of the announcement, and the Mahanth also had not been consulted. The

Mahanth objected, and closed the temple to prevent the installation. He, however, afterwards opened it, in compliance with an order of the Magistrate, in which it was mentioned that no image would be set up in the temple that day without his consent. The Magistrate, at the same time, informed Mr. Dharmapala that he must desist from any such attempt on the occasion. Mr. Dharmapala then submitted representations to the District Magistrate and the Lieutenant-Governor on the subject ; but failing to obtain support, went to Ceylon, leaving the image in a rented house in Gaya. Nothing more happened till the 25th February 1905, when, between 8 and 9 in the morning, Mr. Dharmapala, who had returned from Ceylon in the previous month, with two Singhalese priests and one Singhalese layman, went with the image to the upper floor of the temple, and placed it on the altar. They were about to light a candle, as a preliminary to worship, when a number of the Mahanth's people came, snatched away the candle, and commanded Mr. Dharmapala to remove the image. After some expostulation all but a few left the temple ; and Mr. Dharmapala and the two priests sat down to their devotions in front of the image. A number of men, however, again came in and carried off the image and set it down in the open courtyard below. Mr. Dharmapala, in consequence, filed a complaint in the Court of the District Magistrate, on the 28th February, against four of the Mahanth's disciples and two others for voluntarily disturbing him and his associates, when lawfully engaged in the performance of religious worship in the temple, and also for defiling the image and trespassing into a place of worship. After a protracted trial, the District Magistrate convicted three of the accused and sentenced them under section 296 of the Indian Penal Code to one month's simple imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100 each.

Against this decision the accused appealed to the Sessions Judge of Gaya, who affirmed the conviction and the sentence of fine, but set aside the sentence of imprisonment. The accused then moved the High Court, with the result that they were all acquitted, on the ground that it was not established that the complainant and his associates were lawfully engaged in religious worship when they were disturbed, and that the accused, therefore, in causing the disturbance, had committed no offence under section 296, Indian Penal Code. No orders were, however, passed regarding the disposal of the image, which continued to remain in the rest-house, where it had been placed by the Magistrate under a police guard.

The question of the Mahanth's position in regard to the temple was discussed at great length in the judgments in the case. The High Court found that while on the one hand the temple was a place of Buddhist worship, on the other hand it was in the possession of the Mahanth and that he was the sole Superintendent.

As regards the treatment of the temple as a Hindu shrine, it appears from the judgment of the District Magistrate that at the time when Buchanan Hamilton was studying the antiquities of the district in 1811 A. D. there was no Hindu worship *inside* the temple. At that time, it is said, the celebrated *pipul* or Bodhi tree stood on the back or further end of the upper floor terrace and was an object of worship by Hindu pilgrims to Gaya, but the Bodhi tree in question had been knocked down by a storm some time previous to 1877, and the

platform round it was cleared away in the course of the restoration of the temple.* The particular spot at Bodh-Gaya, which is now held in reverence by the Hindus, is what is known as the new

* Since restored and a fragment of the old tree has been planted which is venerated by the Buddhists.

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Bodhi tree about 100 yards away to the north

of the temple within the temple enclosure. Owing to the action of the Buddhists an

attempt was recently made to usurp the temple as a purely Hindu shrine, but the whole correspondence on the subject shows that it was in the interests of the Buddhists (as well as of antiquarian conservation) that Government took the work of restoration into its own hands. It is, moreover, quite clear from the evidence taken in the temple case that it has never been converted into a Hindu temple in the sense that Hindu idols have been enshrined or orthodox Hindu worship carried on in it.

4. In November 1895, the Mahanth submitted a memorial to the Commissioner of Patna, in which he prayed (*a*) that the custodian of the temple, a Sub-Overseer of the Public Works Department, kept there by the Government to look after the buildings, of whose attitude towards himself he complained, might be transferred ; (*b*) that the image might be removed from the rest-house ; (*c*) that the key of the rest-house, which had been taken by Mr. Dharmapala, might be made over to him, and the house left in his possession ; (*d*) that he might not be hindered from exercising control over persons who might occupy the house, which, he contended, was his property, built by his predecessors for the accommodation of *bonâ fide* pilgrims ; and (*e*) that the Magistrate might be instructed to order Mr. Dharmapala and his companions to vacate the house. In forwarding the memorial to Government, the Commissioner suggested that, as the image would be a standing cause of friction, and might, at any time, lead to further complications, if left where it was, the Magistrate should be instructed to serve a notice on Mr. Dharmapala, under section 144 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, directing him to take charge of, and remove it from Bodh-Gaya by a certain date. In the event of its not being thus removed, the Commissioner thought that the Government might have it conveyed to the Indian Museum, to be there kept until reclaimed by Mr. Dharmapala. He also found that the rest-house had never been the Mahanth's property, but that it virtually belonged to the Government, which had kept it in repair, and recommended that it should be kept open, without locks, for the free use of Buddhist pilgrims. The Lieutenant-Governor, in orders of the 2nd April 1896, accepted the Commissioner's views, and directed that the Magistrate should write to Mr. Dharmapala and warn him that if he failed to remove the image from the precincts of the temple within one month, the Government would take possession of it and deposit it in the Indian Museum in Calcutta, where it would remain until it was reclaimed on such conditions as the Government might think fit to impose. It was also ordered that the rest-house should remain in the Magistrate's charge for the use of Buddhist pilgrims, and that the Sub-Overseer should be replaced by another officer.

5. In June 1896, the Commissioner reported that Mr. Dharmapala, in reply to the notice calling on him to remove the image, had written to the Magistrate declining to do so, on the ground that such a proceeding would be an act of profanity on his part, and stating that it was in the safe custody of the monks who were living in the rest-house. He also forwarded a petition from two Buddhist priests residing at Bodh-Gaya, protesting against the proposed removal of the image. The matter was thereupon fully reconsidered by the Lieutenant-Governor. In issuing the orders of 2nd April 1896, the Lieutenant-Governor was under the impression that the image was practically a derelict and in charge of no one. As, however, it appeared that there were in residence at Bodh-Gaya Buddhist priests who considered themselves responsible for the image, and declared the police guard over it unnecessary, the Government saw no necessity to interfere. It was accordingly decided that the image should be left in the rest-house, the guard being withdrawn. As regards the rest-house, orders were passed that it must remain, as it had been for years an open shelter for Buddhist pilgrims—known in Burma as a Zayât ; that no locks or bolts were to be put on its doors ; and that it

would be repaired, as hitherto, by the Government ; and the Mahanth was declared to have no authority over it. It was further intimated to the Buddhists that if they wanted any concessions affecting the temple itself, and the worship conducted therein, they must negotiate with the Mahanth. The Lieutenant-Governor's orders were, it was understood, received with satisfaction by the Buddhists. For the rest, it was said that while Government would maintain an attitude of strict impartiality on all questions affecting the shrine, it was important, in the interests of the public peace, to discourage all attempts from whatever quarter to disturb the existing state of things, which had the sanction of centuries.

Subsequently the following petitions were received :—

- (1) a representation, dated the 29th January 1897, from the British Indian Association, praying for the removal of the Japanese image of Buddha from the Burmese rest-house at Bodh-Gaya ;
- (2) a letter bearing date Chicago, the 29th December 1896 (received on the 5th February 1897), from Mr. H. Dharmapala, requesting that the inspection bungalow at Bodh-Gaya may be placed at the disposal of the Buddhists exclusively ;
- (3) a telegram, dated the 28th February 1897, from the Secretary to the Bankipore Dharma Sabha, intimating that the Sabha join in the prayer of the British Indian Association for the removal of the Japanese image of Buddha from Bodh-Gaya ;
- (4) a petition, dated the 30th March 1897, from Rai Ishwari Prasad and other Hindu inhabitants of the Patna District, praying for the removal of the image to some place beyond the precincts of the Bodh-Gaya temple.

In the meantime, the Lieutenant-Governor had visited Gaya on tour and had seen both Mr. Dharmapala and the Mahanth and impressed on them the necessity for a compromise, suggesting what should be done. The above applications were, therefore, forwarded to the Commissioner of Patna for opinion, together with a letter from the Government of India, enclosing a memorial from the President of the Mandalay Branch of the Mahabodhi Society, in which he represented that a sum of Rs. 12,800 had been collected by his Society for the purpose of repairing or rebuilding the Burmese rest-house at Bodh-Gaya on plans to be approved by Government and the Commissioner was asked what steps had been taken towards carrying out the suggestions of compromise made by the Lieutenant-Governor. In reply the Commissioner reported that he had not been able to carry out the arrangements suggested by His Honour towards effecting a compromise, and that the situation remained practically unchanged.

About the same time a further letter was received from Mr. Dharmapala, intimating his desire to build a temple on the grounds at Bodh-Gaya. After fully considering the various representations, Government decided to adhere to the attitude of strict impartiality hitherto adopted by it in regard to the temple, and orders were passed to the effect : (1) that the Japanese image should continue to remain in the rest-house; (2) that the offer of the Mandalay Branch of the Mahabodhi Society to repair the rest-house should be declined on the ground that it was already maintained in proper order by Government, and (3) that if Mr. Dharmapala wished to build a new temple, he would have to come to terms with the Mahanth for the necessary site.

In November 1901, the Government of India forwarded, for the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion, a copy of a letter from the Government of Burma, enclosing three memorials from members of the Buddhist community in Burma, praying for permission, firstly, to restore the Buddhist shrines at Bodh-Gaya and, secondly, to erect rest-houses near the sacred precincts for the accommodation of Buddhist pilgrims.

The petitions seemed to this Government to raise the whole Bodh-Gaya question. It was pointed out by His Honour (then Chief Secretary) that though the petitioners did not *totidem verbis* ask for the rendition of Bodh-Gaya, their prayer included so much that, if granted, it practically meant the restitution of Bodh-Gaya to the Buddhists, and the buying out of the Mahanth, possibly under the Land Acquisition Act. The Legal Remembrancer was consulted on the question of applying the Land Acquisition Act and taking up the temple with a view to making it over to the Buddhists, or to Government retaining it and allowing the Buddhists the exclusive use of it, subject to some form of Government control. The Legal Remembrancer was, however, opposed to the Land Acquisition Act being applied, as in his opinion the purpose would not be a "public purpose." Mr. Oldham, the Collector of Gaya, who was also consulted in the matter, suggested the desirability of passing a special Act of Legislature to "make over the control of the temple and its immediate precincts to the Buddhists while reserving the rights of Hindu pilgrims to offer oblations to the (Bodhi) tree." The late Sir John Woodburn agreed in the opinion that to acquire the temple for the exclusive benefit of one sect of religious worshippers was not acquisition for a public purpose within the meaning of the Act, and that to strain the provisions of the law so as to include such a purpose would be a departure from the intentions of the Legislature. In his opinion also very strong arguments would be required to justify a proposal to deprive the Mahanth of his proprietary rights by legislation, and these did not exist. In replying to the Government of India, therefore, this Government was unable to recommend that any steps should be taken in compliance with the memorial of the Buddhist community of Burma.

In 1898, it was brought to the notice of the District Board of Gaya that there was no accommodation for visitors to Bodh-Gaya. The Burmese rest-house was small and had no bathrooms or latrines, and visitors were put to the greatest discomfort. The District Board thereupon decided to build a rest-house; the Mahanth and the Buddhists objected that one would not do, and the Buddhists offered to contribute towards the cost. It was then resolved by the Board that two rest-houses should be built, and the offer of the Buddhists accepted. This was approved by Government in the Municipal Department. Various objections were then raised by the Mahanth to the proposed construction of the rest-house. First, he contended that it would be likely to lead to a Buddhist monastery; then he objected to the plan on which it was proposed to build it, and finally he traversed the necessity for a rest-house, but urged that if it was considered necessary, it should only be allowed on condition that he should pay for it; that it should be entirely under his control; and that the Japanese image be removed to Calcutta. This Government held that the Mahanth's petitions disclosed no legitimate grievance, and it was ultimately decided that the two rest-houses should be built by the District Board or plans approved by that body; that the buildings should be rest-houses only, and that they should remain in the immediate charge and under the sole control of the District Board.

Last year certain applications from the Buddhist community (1) to construct an iron fence round the Bo-tree, and (2) to set up ornamental lamps at Bodh-Gaya, were refused by Government.

In February last, the Government of India called for a report on the alleged misappropriation of certain gifts by the Mahanth. It was ascertained from the Commissioner of Patna that it has long been the practice for the Mahanth to appropriate all offerings made at the shrine, whether by Buddhists or Hindus, and that his action in the particular case referred to was not unusual or irregular. The Government of India were informed accordingly.

Very recently the Mahanth applied for permission to lease a plot of land to a Japanese gentleman for the construction of a rest-house for Japanese pilgrims. It appeared to Government, however, that a multiplication of interests at Bodh-Gaya was undesirable, and the Commissioner was informed that the Lieutenant-Governor was not disposed to think that the proposed rest-house should be built.

2. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 12th January 1903, on the curious circular stone near Bodh-Gaya Temple.

In writing to Your Excellency the other day about Bodh-Gaya, there was one point which I omitted to notice.

Near the Bodh-Gaya Temple, but quite separate from it, and in a squalid hut by itself, there is a curious circular stone, in the shape of a dice (? disc), which has upon it faint traces of zodiacal signs, or cabalistic marks. These are being obliterated by pilgrims pouring upon the stone offerings of milk, ghi, etc., and will eventually disappear.

I was never able to get one explanation of what this stone is, and it should, I think, be further examined. It is not, I think, much valued by the Mahanth, and I believe that, if you expressed yourself interested in it, and suggested that it might with advantage be removed to the Calcutta Museum, there would be little or no opposition.

I have always intended making this suggestion myself should the opportunity come.

I hope Your Excellency is enjoying the trip.

3. Note by Viceroy, dated 16th January 1903, on Bodh-Gaya Temple.

I record this note of what passed at my visit to the Bodh-Gaya shrine on January 15th, 1903, in the company of Mr. Hare, Commissioner of Patna, and Mr. Oldham, Collector of Gaya. I had previously familiarised myself both with the historical, the administrative, and the judicial aspects of the case, from a perusal

of a large mass of papers either lent to me by the Bengal Government, or already in my possession. Mr. Bourdillon, Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, had indicated to me his belief that a restoration of the Buddhist shrine to the votaries of that faith was desirable, and perhaps even within the bounds of possibility. I found Mr. Oldham, who knows the present Mahanth very well, less sanguine on the subject. He thought that the Mahanth would resist any form of pressure or persuasion, and would cling tenaciously to what he regarded as his rights. I resolved, when I visited the shrine, to question the Mahanth very closely on these matters, and to judge from his attitude what would be the best course to pursue.

I may at this stage give a general indication of the views that had suggested themselves to me after a diligent investigation of the papers and evidence. That Bodh-Gaya is a Buddhist shrine, built by Buddhists in commemoration of one of the most sacred incidents of the life of their master, intended for the accommodation of Buddhist images and Buddhist worship, and treated as the object of Buddhist pilgrimage from all parts of the Eastern world, with only occasional interruptions, for a period of 2,000 years, does not admit of dispute. That no question of Hindu ownership was even created till 1727 A. D., when the grant of the neighbouring village was for the first time made by a Mogul sovereign to the then Mahanth, is also indisputable. That the rights of possession or control (whatever their exact legal nature) then acquired were not until quite recent years exercised so as to convert a Buddhist into a Hindu place of worship, or to introduce Hindu priests or rites into the shrine, is also admitted. In the passage of time, the place has acquired an interest to Hindu devotees, the Bo-tree being one of the 45 sacred spots included in the Gaya tour of pilgrimage : and this interest has developed into something approaching a right, owing to the proprietary advantages enjoyed by the Mahanth, and to the fact that until latterly no one has come forward to contest their validity, and no effort has been made to determine their legal character or limitations. I do not regard the Dharmapala case, in the form in which it came before the High Court of Calcutta in 1895, as having raised or settled this issue. The case was one not of proprietary rights but of a criminal offence ; and all that the learned Judges had to decide was whether such an offence had or had not been committed. Mr. Justice Macpherson, who delivered the first judgment, himself said, "It is quite unnecessary to discuss the proprietary interest of the Mahanth. There is no doubt that he is in possession, that he is the sole superintendent, of the Temple, and that he takes all the offerings both of Hindus and Buddhists If the control and superintendence of the Temple is not vested in the Mahanth, it does not appear to be vested in anyone The Mahanth held possession of the Temple, and had the control and superintendence of it, subject to the right of Buddhists to worship there in the customary manner." It was because Mr. Dharmapala attempted to institute a new and unprecedented and surreptitious form of worship, without sanction either in precedent or in the consent of the Mahanth, that the High Court acquitted the assailants of the assault with which they had been charged.

It does not appear to me therefore that what may be described as the main issue, *viz.*, that of the proprietary rights over the Temple, has ever been either presented or solved. On the various occasions when the Bengal Government has had an opportunity of expressing an opinion on the subject, it has either contented itself with avowing a religious neutrality, or has declined to be drawn. For instance, in 1891, Mr. Grierson, Collector of Gaya, in a letter to the Commissioner of Patna, stated what he believed to be "the traditional arrangement," *viz.*, that "the building is not the property of Government, and is only taken charge of with the consent of the Mahanth;" but that "as Government has spent two lakhs on the temple it has a certain undefined right to see to its preservation and protection, the Mahanth remaining the proprietor, and all that we do being done with his consent;" and he went on to ask what the position and rights of Government were. He did not, however, succeed in getting any more definite reply from the Bengal Government than (1) "that the question has never been decided," and (2) "that His Honour is of opinion that it is not advisable to take any action at present or to disturb existing arrangements."

It is undeniable that there is in the circumstances of the case, and in the absence of any authoritative legal pronouncement, considerable ground, if not for reluctance in stating an opinion, at any rate for diffidence in forming it. On the one hand, the rights of the Mahanth, which rest in the main upon prescription, have suffered frequent derogation at his own hands. For the greater part of the period since the grant of the *firman* in 1727, there does not seem to have been any definite assertion of his authority over the shrine, the reason no doubt being that it was little more than a dilapidated ruin. Buddhist pilgrims were at liberty to come from Burma and to install their images in the shrine. They went so far as to conduct restorations on a large scale. Even on the last occasion, in 1877, when they sought the consent of the Mahanth to such operations, he did not, in according it, lay any claim to proprietary rights over the temple itself. Until the purchase by him within the last ten years of the village adjoining his own, which was also claimed by the seven annas Tikari Raj, his right as ground landlord to the entire temple enclosure was itself open to dispute. As regards the interior of the temple, till eight years ago it not only had no interest for the Hindus, but entrance into it or worship there was actually regarded as a profane and unholy act—so much so that a staircase had actually been built outside the shrine so as to admit of Hindu pilgrims visiting the Bo-tree, which at that time was planted on a higher terrace. The right of the Mahanth to receive all fees for admission to the sacred enclosure, whether from Buddhists or Hindus, seems throughout to have been accepted; and indeed this followed from his proprietary right over the soil. But the ownership of the temple building seems never to have been raised as an issue by itself: and not until the Singhalese Buddhists threw down the challenge some ten years ago, does the Mahanth appear to have put forward any positive claim to the temple as a place of Hindu worship; and then only to have done so, partly in retaliation for the aggressive attitude of his opponents, partly in order

to strengthen his own claims to ownership, should these be formally contested. This, at any rate, is the light in which I read the history of events as affecting the pretensions and conduct of the Mahanth.

On the other hand, the Bengal Government have in recent years exercised powers of supervision and control at Bodh-Gaya which seem to be incompatible with a complete recognition of the rights of the Mahanth. When the great work of restoration was undertaken by Sir Ashley Eden, that was finished in 1884, there do not seem to have been any formal communications with the Mahanth, or any official application for or receipt of his consent. All that we have is the statement of Mr. Beglar (the architect) that he received verbal instructions to work harmoniously with the Mahanth (as indeed he seems to have done) throughout. Later on the Bengal Government placed the building which they had thus restored, at a total cost of two lakhs, under the Public Works Department, in charge of an Executive Engineer, and appointed a Public Works Department Overseer as custodian of the temple. They have since undertaken and paid for such annual repairs as are necessary. They also keep in repair the Burmese rest-house (built originally from Burmese subscriptions), and they decided in 1896 that the Mahanth had no authority over it. All of these acts, though far from amounting to a repudiation of the alleged rights of the Mahanth, are yet not easily reconcilable with their full admission, and seem to involve the gradual assertion of a co-ordinate authority, with power, if not to dispose of the shrine or to expropriate the Mahanth, at least to superintend his superintendence and to control his control.

This was the somewhat obscure and ambiguous condition in which the case presented itself to me when I went to Bodh-Gaya. That the principal shrine ought to be restored to the Buddhists, and that Hindu worship, which is admitted by the Hindus themselves to be inadmissible in a shrine belonging to another religion, should no longer be allowed in it, seemed to me clear. That the Mahanth had been driven to his more recent pretensions by the provocative and irritating attitude of Dharmapala also appeared probable. The question was whether the Mahanth, and those behind him, either had sufficient confidence in their case, or had already committed themselves so far, as to render surrender or compromise on their part unlikely : and, on the side of Government, whether there existed the means, other than personal influence or authority, of putting pressure on the Hindu party to come to terms. I concurred with the late Sir John Woodburn in thinking that the Land Acquisition Act could not possibly be twisted to the purpose of compulsorily acquiring the Temple. I did not like the idea of bringing buildings still used for religious purposes within the purview of the new Act that we have in contemplation : neither did special legislation for the acquisition of the Bodh-Gaya Shrine strike me as a remedy that ought to be applied save in the last resort. On the other hand, the Mahanth might shrink from the possibility of having to submit his title to a civil tribunal, which

might conceivably decide against him and deprive him of much that he now enjoys ; and it seemed to me that, if he were judiciously handled, his instincts would be more inclined to compromise than to resistance, particularly if he saw that for the first time the matter had been seriously taken up by the Viceroy, and was likely to be pushed to a definite issue. I resolved therefore to press the Mahanth rather closely as to the nature of his assumed rights, and to let him see that my mind was not at rest on the subject.

It was when we were alone in the shrine, contemplating the image of the big Buddha, with surroundings that were in the main Hindu, and not Buddhist, that I questioned him through Mr. Oldham. I asked him how he justified performing Hindu worship in a Buddhist temple at all, how long he had done so, in what circumstances he had commenced, why Hindu worship had been formerly prohibited and was now practised, what was the nature of the rights claimed by him, upon what they rested, how far he considered they would justify him in going, and many more questions *ejusdem generis*. The Mahanth replied, (1) that the image of Buddha was really an incarnation of Vishnu, and was worshipped as such (to which the answer was obvious that, if this were so, it was remarkable that for centuries the Vishnavas had never found it out) ; (2) that he merely followed what had always been the custom at Bodh-Gaya (which was not true) ; and (3) that he could not state what was the extent or limitation of his powers. Questioned about the Bo-tree, he was still more disingenuous, for he pretended that the Bo-tree on a separate platform to the north of the temple was not the one which the Vishnavas worship, but that the real object of their pilgrimage is the smaller and younger Bo-tree, planted just under the western wall of the shrine, which is the sacred place of the Buddhists. This was not true : and the Mahanth saw that I did not accept his statement.

Nevertheless the attitude of the Mahanth leads me, and it led Mr. Oldham, to think that he is at present in a more amenable frame of mind than he has ever previously been found, and that if we strike now, while the iron is hot, it is conceivable that a solution may be effected of the main problem that might not be possible by any other means.

I therefore now write the following instructions for Mr. Oldham, upon which he will act in a further immediate interview with the Mahanth. Knowing the case, as he does, so much better than myself, and being well acquainted with the individual, he is at liberty to exercise his own discretion as to the manner and method of his argument, and as to the precise nature of the settlement which he is to endeavour to effect. Broadly speaking, however, the following lines seem to me suitable :—

Mr. Oldham might say to the Mahanth that it was obvious from the recent conversation of the Viceroy that he took a keen interest in the matter and had familiarized himself with the history of the case. It was also clear that the Viceroy inclined strongly to the opinion that the main temple is not a Hindu but

a Buddhist shrine, and ought to be reserved, as it was in former days, for Buddhist worship. Nevertheless it was also clear that the Viceroy respected the religious feelings of the Hindus, and wished to secure the co-operation of the Mahanth. Nothing would be easier than for the Viceroy to exert the full authority of Government and to issue orders which the Mahanth would probably be reluctant to disobey. A suit in the Civil Court was not an issue to which the Mahanth could look forward with any great confidence ; while there was always in the background the weapon of legislation, by which the Government could acquire the necessary powers if they did not already possess them. It did not seem, however, that any such strong measures would be required. The Viceroy was anxious to carry the Mahanth and the religious community with him. He was not anxious to dispute, but rather to safeguard, the legitimate rights of the former : and if the Mahanth acted in a similar spirit, there was no reason why a harmonious agreement should not be arrived at without delay.

The lines of such an agreement would be somewhat as follows :—

The main temple would become an exclusively Buddhist shrine. There would probably be no objection to Hindus visiting it, but they would not conduct worship there, or decorate the image, or burn lights or spill *ghi* before it. The shrine would not be handed over to the Buddhist as their property, since the Government had no desire to oust one proprietor merely in order to install another, but would be held in trust by Government, who would issue regulations for the proper conduct of Buddhist worship there. The Bo-tree against the west outer wall of the shrine would similarly be recognized as a place of peculiarly Buddhist sanctity, though there would be no objection to Hindus visiting (but not making offerings to) it. On the other hand, the larger Bo-tree on the platform would be reserved as an object of Hindu devotion. The remainder of the enclosure would remain as it is now open to all parties : and the Mahanth would continue as the ground-landlord to draw the fees of all visitors, whether Hindu or Buddhist.

This was in outline the solution suggested by the Viceroy. If the Mahanth accepted it, an agreement could be properly drawn up and signed. He should realize, however, that the Viceroy, having taken up the matter, had not the slightest intention of allowing it to drop ; and that if the present opportunity of an amicable settlement was lost, the Mahanth might find his position less secure before the matter ended.

I may add here what I told Mr. Oldham, that if the above attempt at a friendly compromise fails, either because the Mahanth is afraid of his followers, or because hostile influences at Calcutta or elsewhere spur him to resistance, I would then propose to act as follows :—

I would contemplate asking the Local Government to send to Gaya a small Commission, in order to enter more exhaustively into the case and to advise me as to the procedure to be followed. I should then be in a position to decide what further action was necessary.

I am sending a copy of this Note to Mr. Oldham, who has authority to proceed without delay in the manner that I have indicated.

4. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to C. E. A. Oldham, Esq., Magistrate and Collector, Gaya, dated 17th January 1903. Encloses Viceroy's Note (No. 3).*

The Viceroy sends you the Note which he promised about the Bodh-Gaya Shrine, and authorizes you to proceed quietly in the manner indicated therein. His Excellency will let Mr. Bourdillon know that he has taken this step.

We have no other copy of the Note, so you had better return it to me in Calcutta when you report what is the result of your advances. The Viceroy thinks it undesirable at the present stage that the matter should pass through a number of hands : so you had better write confidentially to me, and the correspondence will then be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor. In the meantime you should keep the Note entirely to yourself.

Later on a printed copy of it will be sent to you for reference if required.

5. *Letter from C. E. A. Oldham, Esq., dated 25th January 1903. Interviews with the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya Temple.*

On receipt of your letter, dated the 17th instant, forwarding His Excellency's Note on the Bodh-Gaya Shrine, I sent for the Mahanth at once. In the interview held in the morning of the 19th, I broached the subject on the lines indicated by His Excellency. The Mahanth in the end appeared to agree, and even went so far as to promise he would do what I might suggest. I suggested the terms, and he made no specific objection, but asked that they should be drafted in writing that he might take legal advice. He proposed to call a barrister from Calcutta (Mr. Cotton), but I dissuaded him, and induced him to name a local pleader for the purpose. At his request I prepared a written draft, and I called the pleader named and himself again next morning to settle and agree to it.

At the terms, when in writing, however, he shied and showed that he had made up his mind not to accept them. He pleaded, as his excuse, that he would be blamed by all the Hindus. It is difficult to deal with a man who thinks nothing of breaking a promise in this way.

The Mahanth has said he will have a draft of his own prepared and will let me have it in six or seven days. I am now awaiting his proposals ; and write merely to keep you informed of what has transpired.

I have kept a full account of what passed at our interviews, and shall let you have a copy as well as His Excellency's Note with my final report as soon as I receive his proposed terms.

6. Letter from C. E. A. Oldham, Esq., dated 8th February 1903. Encloses a memorandum of interviews with Mahanth.

In continuation of my demi-official of the 25th ultimo, I send a copy of my notes of what transpired at three interviews I have had with the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya in regard to an amicable settlement of the temple matter; and I regret to have to report that I have failed to get the Mahanth to sign any terms of agreement on the lines proposed.

It will be seen that he is a hopeless person to negotiate with verbally. I have exhausted every argument with him short of an open threat. I have told him very distinctly that the Viceroy will not let the matter drop; but I have not said that His Excellency contemplates appointing a Commission, or indicated in any way the further measures His Excellency has suggested; nor have I let him know that I had received His Excellency's instructions to sound him.

In the circumstances, I can only recommend that the Commission proposed be appointed; it will be able to elicit sufficiently Hindu opinion in the course of its proceedings.

I return, in original, His Excellency the Viceroy's Note. I have kept no copy of it.

Enclosure of No. 6:

Memorandum by C. E. A. Oldham, Esq., of his interviews with Mahanth on 19th and 20th January and 8th February 1903.

On the afternoon of the 18th January, I received a letter from the Private Secretary to the Viceroy, forwarding me a copy of His Excellency's Note on his visit to Bodh-Gaya on 15th January 1903.

In order to give effect to the instructions therein contained, I at once sent for M. Vijayanand Mukhtar, the most reliable local agent of the Mahanth, and told him to go out to Bodh-Gaya and see the Mahanth personally, and tell him that I wished to see him alone on some important business and to make him understand that I desired he would come into Gaya early next morning by himself, and see me at my own house. I knew that, if I went out to Bodh-Gaya, it would be impossible for me to see the Mahanth by himself and talk to him privately without some of his men overhearing the conversation, or if I insisted out there on speaking to the Mahanth quite alone, it would at once arouse undesirable suspicion and enquiry.

M. Vijayanand carried out his errand correctly, and next morning (19th) early the Mahanth came to see me. After the usual exchange of polite questions, I asked him whether he was very pleased with His Excellency the Viceroy's visit, and what he had thought of it all. He appeared to be pleased and referred especially to the Viceroy's kindly disposition. From what he said he gave me to understand that he thought the Viceroy's visit had passed off very successfully so far as he was concerned. I then asked him whether he had observed how many questions His Excellency had put when inside the Great Temple before the large draped image. He said he had. Had it occurred to him that the Viceroy seemed much astonished to see the image of Buddha decorated and besmeared? That from his tone he seemed annoyed at this? The Mahanth would not admit this altogether, but evidently had noticed His Excellency's manner. I then referred to certain other incidents which showed what a grasp His Excellency had of all the facts connected with the history, etc., of the place, which he had evidently carefully studied, and that he was not pleased with the condition in which he had found the temple. Had he also not noticed this? Had it not occurred to him that His Excellency seemed to think some change should be made? He avoided giving a definite reply to this. So then I went on to say what impression the visit had left on me. I had been thinking about it a great deal since, the result of which was that I had sent for him. From what the Viceroy had said it was clear that he had familiarised himself with the history of the case; that he was strongly of opinion that the Great Temple was really a Buddhistic shrine, and not a Hindu shrine, and that it should be reserved for Buddhist worship; that it was equally clear that he respected the religious feelings of the Hindus, and that he sought the co-operation of the Mahanth, and so on, gradually going through each one of the points mentioned by His Excellency in his Note dated the 16th January. When I got to the question of the chances of a civil suit, the Mahanth interrupted, and said that here his case was absolutely strong, and that he had "full proof" (*pura sabut*) on his side. I then got out the High Court judgment in the case of 1895, and read out to him certain portions which I had previously marked, which showed that the question of proprietary right had not been decided at all, and that, moreover, the High Court had expressed strong disapproval of the carrying on of spurious Hindu worship in the lower storey, which Mr. Justice Macpherson had characterized as "very wrong." It would be hopeless for him, I said, in any case to enter into litigation with the Government of India, and I felt convinced he would never think of doing such a thing. He said he would not fight against Government. He would not become a rebel (*baghi* was the term he used). I then asked the Mahanth whether he had ever really considered the temporal aspects of the case also. Hitherto comparatively few Buddhist pilgrims had visited the shrine. It was only in latter years that they had been coming in larger numbers. "This," the Mahanth interposed, "is wholly due to Dharmapala" (whom he hates like poison). I said this was not the case; but that I had not mentioned Dharmapala's name, and did not wish to mention it, as I knew he and the Mahanth were not on friendly terms. Dharmapala's advent was really but a result of the same causes that tended to bring a much larger influx of pilgrims in the future. It was the revival among the Buddhist nations like the Japanese, Siamese, Ceylonese, etc.; the spread of Western education; the extraordinary development of printing, and the dissemination of books containing descriptions of the sacred places, coupled with the hitherto undreamt of and ever-increasing facilities of travel provided by railways and steamships. I pointed out that the numbers of Buddhist pilgrims were bound to increase for these reasons, and that the influx was only checked by the description given by those who had already been to the shrine of what

they regard as its defilement. Buddhists shrank from coming to see the present state of things. If they felt they could come without their own religious feelings being wounded, they would come in very much larger numbers ; the fame of the site would enormously increase, and the dignity of the local Mahanth, instead of being lowered, would be raised on high and spread abroad. The result of this would be that gifts would flow into his treasury, whereas now the Buddhists regarded him as a sort of enemy, and were unwilling that he should benefit in any way. Supposing, however, that the Government of India were to adopt the extreme measure of special legislation, there was no knowing how much of his local influence in respect of the temple might not be curtailed, if it were not wholly taken away.

I then pointed out what an unique occasion this was for doing an act of grace and justice. It was the month in which the proclamation of their Imperial Majesties had been celebrated with such enthusiasm, and then there was the auspicious occasion of the visit of His Majesty's representative, His Excellency the Viceroy. No fitter occasion could present itself. The Mahanth soon appeared to fairly give way. He said he would do as I might suggest in the matter. He said he promised this. The words, he used were "*Ap ko jaban diyu*" (*jaban*—rustic for *zaban*). I said I had been thinking too of what would be the best action to take. It seemed after much consideration that the following would be the proper terms of agreement:—(1) that the Great Temple should be regarded as exclusively a Buddhist Shrine ; (2) that it should be handed over to Government in trust ; (3) that the western Bo-tree should be regarded as exclusively an object of worship to the Buddhists ; (4) that the northern *pipal*-tree should be reserved for Hindu worship ; and (5) that the Mahanth as ground landlord would continue to receive the customary fees and gifts of visitors.

The Mahanth then made no objection to any one of these terms. He asked me to make a draft of them in writing and said that he would leave it to his legal advisers. He suggested he should send for Mr. Cotton, barrister-at-law, and that he would do as he approved. I said it was no use sending for Mr. Cotton ; that I would rather have his own personal concurrence, as barristers after all did not like settlements, disputes being the means of their livelihood. Was there no one in Gaya he could rely on to advise him ? He named Babu Hariharnath, the Senior Government Pleader, and said he would like to consult him, and asked me to make a draft and send it. I said I would draw up a draft, and then send for both him and Babu Hariharnath, pleader, that they might agree to it. He again said he would be guided by my advice, and left me after some further conversation of a general and friendly nature. When I found him to be coming round and almost to assent to my proposals, I also hinted to him that if he performed a great public act of justice and religious merit, as had been suggested, I would be in a position to bring his name before Government. I reminded him that he had once been anxious to obtain the recognition of Government in the shape of the grant of exemption from personal attendance in the Civil Courts, and that it would, after the settlement of the temple matter, be a suitable time to re-express the wish.

The Mahanth certainly made no objection to any one of the terms proposed ; and he distinctly said that he promised to do as I might suggest, provided his legal adviser agreed. He left in an excellent temper, and appeared to be quite satisfied with the interview. He promised also to keep the matter wholly to himself (*apne pet men*) and not discuss it with his *chelas* or anybody else.

This interview lasted an hour and a half. When the Mahanth drove away, I set to work

* Not printed.

to prepare a rough draft of agreement (copy * annexed), and went to court. I sent over to the

Mahanth's lodging to ask if he could see me again that evening, as I feared that unless the matter was settled at once, he would apply to Calcutta for advice, and the whole thing would be knocked on the head. The Mahanth had, however, driven straight back to Bodh-Gaya after seeing me : so I sent out a note asking him to see me again next morning ; and at the same time directed the pleader, Babu Hariharnath, to come to my house at the same hour that I had asked the Mahanth to come.

20th January 1903.—The Mahanth arrived first : and as soon as I saw him I noticed his manner to be changed and more formal, and I could see that he was not of the same disposition as he had been the day before. So while waiting for the pleader, Babu Hariharnath, I did not speak of the Bodh-Gaya matter : but we conversed on other topics. I excused myself for calling him again so soon, as I had to go into camp in the district, and might not have another opportunity for some time. When the pleader came, I explained to him in the presence of the Mahanth why he had been sent for ; that the Mahanth had specially named him, and expressed a desire to consult him. I then repeated the main facts for his information, and I showed the draft that I had prepared in accordance with the terms proposed the day before. I then asked Babu Hariharnath to translate them accurately into Hindi that the Mahanth might hear them and point out anything to which he did not agree. When the draft had been read out, the Mahanth said that the terms must be such that no blame would attach to him (*ki hamko koi ninda na kare*). When asked to explain exactly what he meant, he said that Hindus were in the habit of worshipping in the temple, and that if he were to say that no Hindu should go in and worship there, all the Hindus of India would blame him. He specially named the present Maharaja of Darbhanga as having gone into the Temple with his Gayawal, and performed worship. [This was possibly done—and with a sinister design.] I asked the pleader whether in his opinion any orthodox Hindu would of his own motion go inside the temple and worship, and he replied that he had been of opinion that no orthodox Hindu would. The Mahanth then referred to the evidence in the temple case and quoted certain authorities, which he had evidently been learning up recently. He also stated that Mr. Beglar would say that Hindus had been accustomed to worship there ; that he was the best witness on the subject. He had never hinted at this the day before. I remarked this. He then went on to say that if he gave up the western Bo-tree, he would be blamed by the Hindus, as the other was quite a "new tree." I pointed out that the tree to the west was really younger than the one to the north, and that neither one nor the other could be said to be the original *Bodhidruma*, the one to the west having actually been planted by an Englishman, namely, General Sir Alexander Cunningham. I could see, however, that, in spite of his promise of yesterday, he had been influenced, and had made up his mind to object to the terms to-day, and not to agree to them. Whether it was a final resolution, or whether he had been prevailed upon to do this with a view to gain time and consult his Calcutta friends, I cannot say.

We discussed the terms at some length. I again pointed out to him the advantage to himself of an amicable settlement on these terms. He hinted that we were all biased in favour of the Buddhists ; that the English read the Buddhist scriptures, and not the Hindu scriptures. He had to admit that at all events I had never, in the five years I had been here shown any bias one way or the other. I said I was leaving the district for good, and was anxious that an amicable arrangement should be come to before I left, as the next officer might recommend more drastic measures. The Mahanth then said that he would have a draft made himself, stating the terms to which he had no objection. I then asked the pleader as a Hindu

whether he saw any objection to any of the terms I had proposed. He said he saw none. Lest the Mahanth might think he had been influenced to say this, I asked him to tell the Mahanth whether I had ever spoken to him on the subject before, and whether he even knew why he had been called. He replied to both these points in the negative. Still the Mahanth I could see was getting more and more stubborn, and I refrained from pressing too much lest this should altogether jeopardize further negotiation. I showed him, however, that I was much astonished and hurt at his going back on his word of the day before.

From the Mahanth's manner it appears to me clear that, in spite of his promise yesterday that he would keep the subject entirely to himself, he had been discussing it with some people, probably with some of his *chelas* and his Muhammadan Mukhtar (a notorious person), and that he had *decided* to agree to no terms in this interview, but to gain time for consultation. He himself suggested that he should have a draft prepared, and would show it to me, couched in terms such as could bring no blame upon him, and said he would let me have it in six or seven days. I suspect he means to get it from Calcutta. The pleader (Babu Hariharnath, who is also Senior Government Pleader here) has been warned to keep the matter to himself.

I now await the Mahanth's proposals, before replying as to the result of the negotiations as final.

23rd January 1903.—I sent for Babu Hariharnath to-day, and asked him if the Mahanth had arranged with him to prepare a draft. He said no, but that the Mahanth had told him to see him again.

29th January 1903.—Again saw Babu Hariharnath. He says the Mahanth has called him again in the holidays, i.e., 1st to 3rd February.

4th February 1903.—Babu Hariharnath says he has been to Bodh-Gaya, but the Mahanth seems disinclined to come to terms, and alleges that he is waiting to consult a disciple named Bishundhari Gir, who is absent.

8th February 1903.—The Mahanth came to see me this morning at my request. I reminded him of the promise he had made on the 20th ultimo to let me have a draft in six or seven days, and said I had not received it yet. He pretended that he was waiting for his disciple, Bishundhari Gir, who has gone to Benares. I have little doubt this man has been specially sent to Benares to consult the pundits there, and to obtain "opinions" against the amicable agreement proposed, and also to find out texts from the Hindu Shastras in support of the position the Mahanth has taken up.

I again used every endeavour to get the Mahanth to agree to a settlement: but he is quite stubborn. He says he would incur the displeasure of all the Hindus. I pointed out that I had not suggested he should make the temple over to the Buddhists, but to Government, who had long been exercising a control over it. I asked him if he could quote another place in the whole length and breadth of India, where an image of Buddha had been set up and worshipped by Hindus, as he again urged that Buddha was only an incarnation of Vishnu, and was properly worshipped as such by Hindus. He named Cawnpore and Kuch Behar; but he admitted that in these places it was the *Das Avatar* (ten incarnations of Vishnu) that was worshipped, and not a single image of Buddha. He could not mention a single place where an image of Buddha was worshipped by itself as a Hindu deity. Even supposing, I said, that a local custom had, through some misapprehension, arisen at Bodh-Gaya, of Hindus worshipping this Buddhistic image, there was no reason to imagine that all Hindus would approve of it, or be in any way displeased if the local custom ceased. I asked him how it was that

no Hindus from Gaya town went into the temple to worship, if it were the proper thing to do ; and added that no Hindu from outside Gaya would go in unless he were led in by some priest or *acharjya*. He named some relative of the Maharaja of Darbhanga who had gone in quite recently, saying he was still in Gaya and could be questioned. He also stated that Randhir Singh of Jammu, when he went to Bodh-Gaya, at first declined to go in, but his pundit told him there was no objection, and then he entered and worshipped. I said these were most isolated cases and could not establish a custom—a mere fancy of an individual ; and that if the opposite advice were given, *i.e.*, not to go in, no Hindu would object. These people had only gone in because they were encouraged to go in. It was evident that those who did go in were persuaded to do so, and that the universal feeling was really against it. The Mahanth quoted a new text which he had apparently learnt since our last interview. I said he might find a few passages which could be construed into meaning that a Hindu might worship an image of Buddha as the incarnation of their god Vishnu ; but, on the other hand, there could not be the least doubt that the whole current of their scriptures was against it, and the history of thousands of years proved overwhelmingly how repugnant was the worship of Buddha to orthodox Hindus. I said that not a single independent Hindu that I had spoken to supported his contentions. He named some obscure pundit of Tekari as corroborating him. I warned him that the matter was not likely to rest here, and that he might afterwards repent of not taking my advice. In fact I used every argument short of an open threat. He said at length he would see what his disciple Bishundhari Gir, who had gone to Benares, said, and would let me know.

I tried to get him to explain why he had so completely changed his views between the 19th and 20th ultimo. He said that the terms which I had written in the draft appeared to be different from the terms verbally mentioned to him, and to which he raised no objection—which I am sorry to say is a lie, as they were precisely the same. I told him the Viceroy would not let the matter drop ; but I did not tell him that His Excellency contemplated the appointment of a Commission, nor did I indicate in any way the further measures His Excellency was likely to adopt.

The Mahanth's unexpected readiness to please on the occasion of the Viceroy's visit appears to have been due to the glamour of His Excellency's presence, which for the time dazed his senses.

I am satisfied that it is no use any longer cherishing the hope of an amicable settlement. It is evident also that the Mahanth's word cannot be relied on, and his conception of honour being such, nothing short of a formally executed document would be of the slightest value. There is no hope of his executing this without strong pressure

7. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 4th March 1903. Comments on Viceroy's note, dated 16th January 1903 (No. 3 above).

I have to return herewith the file about the Bodh-Gaya temple with the following remarks upon Your Excellency's note of the 16th January on the subject. I have shown the papers to Mr. Hare, and he agrees in the views I am

about to express—with particular reference to the recommendations on the last page of Your Excellency's note.

2. I think the British Indian Association may be neglected : they have no place or part in this controversy. They did indeed intervene in January 1897 with a petition to the Bengal Government, but its main object was to press for the removal of the Japanese image from the rest-house, where it now is, to some more distant spot, for the reason that, if it remained where it was, it would probably be the cause of strife.

3. This petition was followed by three others : the first was a telegram to Government from the Bankipur Dharma Sabha—an unknown Association ; the second was a petition from Rai Ishwari Pershad and other Hindu inhabitants of Patna ; and the third one from the Hindu inhabitants of Sarun : the two latter are almost identical with that of the British Indian Association. I have little doubt that these petitions were arranged for the Mahanth by Mr. Cotton, who has influence with the British Indian Association, and who represented the Mahanth in the criminal proceedings in Gaya in 1895. The British Indian Association, in my judgment, never had any excuse for interference in the matter, and their petition was disposed of in a letter from the Bengal Government to the Government of India of the 11th June 1897 : when on the 30th August the Government of India approved the action of the Bengal Government, the latter answered the British Indian Association (Mr. Bolton's letter of the 16th October 1897), and this closed the incident. The British Indian Association have little or no influence in Behar, and need not be brought on to the stage again.

4. Your Excellency next asks in your letter of the 28th February whether any other steps need be taken before you proceed to appoint the Commission proposed in your note of the 16th January. The only thing that I can suggest is that we should endeavour to strengthen our position by obtaining the opinions of learned pundits whose views will carry weight, to the effect that Hindu worship in a Buddhist temple is spurious and impure. I have already written on the subject to Mr. Monro, C.B., of Ranaghat, who knows the famous Nadia pundits. Also I sent for Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prashad Shastri, the Principal of the Sanskrit College here, and in an interview yesterday evening obtained from him the names of several leading pundits who could be consulted on the matter. His own opinion fully bears out the statement made in the course of the criminal case at Gaya by several Brahmin witnesses (see page 141 of

* Not printed.

the Magistrate's Judgment*) to the effect

that such worship was impure and spurious, and that they would not themselves join in it : at the same time Pundit Hara Prashad Shastri informed me that instances are not unknown of an image of Buddha being worshipped as a Hindu idol. He mentioned the temple of Suraj Narain at Baidyanath as one of these. If Your Excellency agrees, I can state a case for the opinion of these pundits. I do not think, however, that the

appointment of the Commission need be postponed till answers to these references have been received. They may fortify our case, but they are not essential to it, while, if they are unfavourable, they may be ignored.

5. I understand that the functions of the Commission will be to enquire into the whole case on the spot, to interview the Mahanth, and to submit a report which will then form a basis for action. This being so, they should, I think, be appointed without loss of time, first because it is essential to bring home to the Mahanth that the Viceroy has no intention of dropping the matter, and, secondly, because Mr. Oldham, the Collector of Gaya, is shortly going on leave. I have already told him that he may have to postpone his departure for a fortnight or so.

6. I do not know whether Your Excellency has decided who are to be the members of the Committee, but in case you have not done so, I suggest the names of Mr. Justice Stevens, and Babu Sarada Charan Mitra to be associated with the Collector. The former, in my opinion, is the soundest and most level-headed of our Civilian Judges, and the latter is the gentleman who officiated in the High Court last year with much credit, and who has again been recommended to act for Mr. Hill. Mr. Stevens is going on sick leave, and may be unable to take up the duties of the Commission : in that case perhaps Mr. Brett could be nominated.

7. I would suggest that the Commission be empowered to endeavour to obtain from the Mahanth an agreement such as has been sketched by Your Excellency : it may be that, when the Mahanth sees that action is imminent, he will give in, and in order to facilitate his compliance the Commission might be authorized to tell him that, if he is complaisant, he will find the Viceroy not unmindful, but that, if the Government of India has to resort to legislation, he need expect no favours from the Governor-General.

8. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Hon'ble Sir D. Ibbetson, Member of Viceroy's Council, dated 5th March 1903. Composition of Bodh-Gaya Commission.

Will you kindly look at the accompanying papers and bring them up with you to speak to the Viceroy after Council to-morrow ?

The case in a nutshell is this. The Viceroy and Mr. Bourdillon are both anxious to recover for Buddhist worship the Buddhist Shrine at Bodh-Gaya, over which the Hindu Mahanth who owns the site has acquired claims, which he has lately begun to utilize for the purpose of turning it into a Hindu place of worship. During his recent visit to Gaya the Viceroy went carefully into the matter, and

suggested the bases of an amicable agreement with the Mahanth. The latter for a time promised acquiescence, but then backed out.

The idea now is to put pressure upon him by the appointment of a small Commission, which should proceed to Gaya without delay.

The Viceroy would like to know whether you are in favour of its composition.

9. Letter from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 8th March 1903. Composition and inquiries of Bodh-Gaya Commission,

I have been thinking carefully over the course of action proposed in the Bodh-Gaya case; and I think that we must be very careful to do nothing that would savour of undue pressure or compulsion, or that would excite suspicion or hostility among the Hindu community. A Commission consisting of two Europeans—both in the service of Government—and one native gentleman, might possibly have this result: and I therefore have to propose to you that, while it is desirable to ask Mr. Justice Stevens or, failing him, Mr. Justice Brett to act as President of the suggested Commission, it would be preferable that the majority upon it should consist of Hindus, and that we should endeavour to procure two suitable colleagues for him from that community. One might be Mr. Mitra, if you are confident of his impartiality and freedom from religious prejudice. For the second, have you any Brâhman of high character and position whose word would carry weight? If not, I might endeavour to procure someone from Benares through the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces—some learned pundit, famous for his knowledge, not of Sanskrit or the epics, but of the Shastras, and of Brahminical law and observance. Durbhangha might have done had he been a stronger character, or the Maharaja of Benares, had he carried any weight.

The Commission would then examine Mr. Oldham as a witness and get from him any evidence that he was in a position to give. Their object would be not to give an arbitral decision, but (1) to ascertain the actual facts from local enquiry; (2) to suggest a mode of procedure to the Government of India.

I hardly think that they should execute an agreement with the Mahanth, but they might, if successful, report to us as to the nature of such agreement as they thought that he would accept and we might conclude.

Pari passu with their enquiries, the opinion of the learned pundits of Nadia or Benares might be taken. If their replies proved favourable, they could be laid before the Commissioners, and would doubtless assist to form their judgment.

I have made such slight alterations in my original printed note as would admit of its being shown confidentially to the members of the Commission as a guide to their labours.

But the most important thing is to get the right men.

10. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 9th March 1903. Composition and inquiries of Commission. Mr. Monro's plan.

I have to answer Your Excellency's letter of yesterday, and to return the file about Bodh-Gaya which accompanied it.

2. I am afraid that, unless the Mahanth gives in and voluntarily signs an agreement such as you proposed, there will undoubtedly be an outcry in certain quarters that the Hindu religion is in danger, and so forth. The answer will be that the worship is spurious, and impure in itself, that it is revolting to the Buddhists, who are the undoubted authors, and should be the owners, of the shrine, and that, in order to prevent this offence being continued, the Government merely intends to supervise the proceedings in a building which they themselves rescued from ruin, and in which they have ever since maintained an interest. I believe that the agitation will be short lived and unimportant.

3. Doubtless it will be wise, as Your Excellency suggests, to have two Hindus on the Commission rather than two Europeans, and the appearance of the Collector whose opinions are well-known, as a witness rather than as a judge, will also have a good effect. The difficulty is to get the right Hindus.

4. I think Babu Sarada Charan Mitra will do well for one : he is an orthodox Brahmin of good caste, a man of undoubted ability, and respected by all. He can be trusted, I believe, to give a sound and sensible opinion. It is a point in our favour that he is designated for the High Court.

5. For the second place, it might be well if we could get a man of influence from Benares who would take a broad and sensible view ; but I am sorry to say that I know of no one in those parts who answers this description. Your Excellency might, as you suggest, write to Sir James LaTouche if you think it better to do so before selecting a second Assessor from Calcutta.

6. However, in the meantime I suggest two nominees : the first is Pundit Hara Prashad Shastri, and the second Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjea. The former is head of the Sanskrit College here, and is a Brahman of learning and repute : he is necessarily a strict and orthodox Hindu, and is in addition a good Archæologist and scholar. I judge that the opinion he would give would be to the effect that the existing worship is spurious and impure, but that it is not without a parallel elsewhere. I enclose for Your Excellency's information a copy of a letter I received from him the other day, which shows that he would take an interest in the matter, and that he would be on the right side.

7. Of Dr. Ashutosh Mookerjea I only know that he is an orthodox, but sensible, Brahman, much respected for his ability; but what his verdict would be I am unable to guess. Perhaps we can hardly afford to risk it.

8. I have thought of several other names, but have dismissed them all as unsuitable for various reasons.

9. I may add that if Pundit Hara Prashad Shastri is put on the Commission, he might help us in preparing a case for the pundits: it might run somewhat in this fashion—"There is an ancient temple built by the Buddhists and exclusively used by them for centuries. The shrine contains an image of the Buddha alone without any others. Lately some Hindus have offered worship before this image. Can this be regarded as pure worship, is it acceptable to the deity, and can true Hindus take part in it without sin?"

10. I also send copy of a letter I have received from Mr. Monro: it explains his inability to help us himself, but he makes a suggestion which may be considered. It is that we should stir up the two parties to appeal to Government, and that Government should then come in as arbiter. But, as a matter of fact, that is already the situation to a great extent. Dharmapala has long complained of the desecration of the temple and pointed out the futility of the so-called worship there, while the Mahanth as stoutly asserts that the worship is genuine. What we might do is to call upon both to produce opinions in support of their respective views, and these might be laid before the Commission, together with those which we may obtain ourselves.

Enclosures of No. 10 :

(1) Letter from Hara Prashad Shastri, dated 4th March 1903, on Bodh-Gaya Temple.

I have much pleasure in sending herewith a copy of my work entitled "Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal" with the passages in which Your Honour is interested marked with blue pencil.

The Bodh-Gaya Temple has always been used as a place of pilgrimage by the Buddhists, though their visits during the past few centuries have been few and far between, and so the Muhammadan Government, not knowing the religious importance of the place, gave it away to a Hindu Shaivite who now owns the property in the soil. By allowing the Government to repair the ruined temple, he has in fact given the Government some right to it.

At the interview so graciously granted yesterday I was quite unprepared, and so I could not comprehend the full meaning of the hint thrown by Your Honour. I have now thought over the matter, and am prepared to sound the Mahanth as to an amicable settlement, on one condition, that of complete secrecy, alone. If Your Honour approves, I may any day after Friday take a trip to Gaya on the pretext of pilgrimage or search of manuscripts and have an interview with the Mahanth.

The transfer of the temple to the Buddhists is a very important work, in which the whole of Asia is interested, and which may lead to India being made again a place of pilgrimage of the whole of Asia, and the wealth of other countries pouring into India.

His Excellency is trying by the repair of ancient works of art to turn India into the Italy of Asia, and this will make Bodh-Gaya the Mecca of the Buddhists. I will think that I have not lived in vain if I can contribute anything towards the consummation of this important end. I wait only for Your Honour's approval of my proposal.

(2) *Letter from J. Monro, Esq., dated 4th March 1903. Gives his suggestion.*

It would never do for *me* to appear as in any way connected with the matter—not with any reference to personality, but with regard to any action contemplated by Government. For the howl would immediately be raised that Government had entered into an unholy alliance with Missionaries with some deep design to injure Hinduism. I don't know the Nadia pundits now-a-days, and any attempt on *my* part to get a *vyavastha* from them would undoubtedly be misconstrued. It seems to me that the best way is to get the question raised in an academic fashion—both parties will probably suggest a reference to pundits, and then Government can see how best they can come in as the *Deus ex machinâ*.

It would certainly be well to have the opinion of Benares, as well as of Nadia, in the matter. But the matter is not without difficulty, and I should certainly recommend your setting agoing agitation *amongst the parties themselves* and then, if considered advisable, stepping in, rather than to cause agitation by stepping in on the strength of any *vyavastha*, and then to have to defend the step taken. Make the *parties* get their *vyavasthas*, and then let Government come in as the peace-loving Buddha!

There is no doubt that Buddha is held to be an *Avatar* of Vishnu, an incarnation which the latter took for the purpose of destroying all who believed in him as Buddha!—one of the most extraordinary moral perversions of which the Brahmin mind has been guilty.

I shall write to a man I know, in quite an academic fashion, and see what I can get out of him on the subject. I need not say that I am most willing to help, but it would be a case of *haut tali auxilio quâ* Government action!

11. *Letter from Vice-roy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 9th March 1903. Mr. Monro's plan. Private Commission*

The difficulty about accepting Mr. Monro's suggestion is that there are no representatives of the Buddhist party in India to set going their side of the case. Dharmapala lives in Ceylon; he is an agitator, and I should think that the less we have to do with him the better.

Why not appoint the Commission privately, or at least without a flourish of trumpets, simply to ascertain the facts and advise Government in the matter? Then why should they not at their opening meeting themselves decide, upon the advice of the two Hindu members, to make a reference to the pundits, both of Nadia and Benares, the Hindu Commissioners drawing up the reference?

In this way Government would be kept entirely in the background, and we should not come in at all until after the Commission had reported. They would report—

- (1) Upon the replies of the pundits.
- (2) Upon the facts as ascertained by examination at Gaya.
- (3) Upon the bases of a possible agreement.

It seems to me that if we proceed in this way, it will be well to take the two Hindu gentlemen whom you recommend, since we can have no idea what the Benares man might say or do. After all, Gaya is in Bengal, and the matter is one which primarily concerns this province. If you approve of the general idea, I will endeavour to get the assent of my colleagues.

12. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 9th March 1903. Mr. Monro's plan. Private Commission.

I recognize at once the difficulty in adopting Mr. Monro's plan of inducing the Hindus and the Buddhists to set forth their claims, and then referring them to Government as arbitrator and peace-maker. And, indeed, as Your Excellency will notice, I only said that Mr. Monro's scheme was "worth considering." I have no prepossession in favour of it, and am not at all disposed to press it.

It will be enough I think, then, to appoint the Commission without unnecessary flourish as a business-like body set to do an important piece of work quietly and without ostentation. If I may make the suggestion, and if it falls in with Your Excellency's views, I would, I think, have an informal meeting with them, or commission your Private Secretary to do so. Your Memorandum would be communicated to them, and thereafter at an interview the situation might be more fully explained to them by word of mouth. It might then be pointed out how valuable would be that favourable opinion of doctors learned in the law, and how a voluntary surrender on the part of the Mahanth would facilitate matters. I should hope that such a Commission backed with favourable opinions, dangling indefinite advantages before the eyes of the Mahanth, and supported by the unseen but still felt influence of the Government, might persuade the Mahanth to accept an agreement which the Collector failed to obtain from him.

If they were successful in this endeavour that would be the most successful result of all, but if they failed to persuade the Mahanth, they would, at any rate, be able to demonstrate how reasonable is the proposal which they recommend, and how unjustifiable is the Mahanth's refusal to fall in with it.

*13. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 10th March 1903.
Case for Council.*

I propose to bring up this question at the special Meeting of Council to be held to-morrow, Wednesday, to discuss the Victoria Memorial Hall Legislation. Meanwhile I send the papers to you. The correspondence between Mr. Bourdillon and myself will show what has proceeded since you last advised : and I hope we are reaching a point at which immediate action will become possible.

14. Letter from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 14th March 1903. Informal inquiries by Mitra and Pundit. Viceroy's name withheld.

I see that Mr. Mitra's officiating appointment has already appeared in the Press, and as the charges of which I spoke will probably take a little time to investigate in the Department, and as, for all I know, they may be malicious or untrue, I do not think that we need, therefore, delay the proceedings of which I spoke to you yesterday afternoon.

As you will remember what I said came to this : that at the present stage the Government of India would prefer not to interfere by the appointment of a direct Commission ; that they desire fuller information on the subject than they at present possess ; that the natural channel for procuring such information seems to them to be the Bengal Government ; and that they will be glad, therefore, if you will, on your own responsibility, but of course with their consent, depute the two gentlemen (Mr. Mitra and the pundit) to proceed to Gaya and conduct the informal enquiries which we desire. They might be shown the papers of the case including my Memorandum, as amended in the file. Their object would be to ascertain with accuracy the position and claims of the Mahanth, and the facts as regards the Hindu worship of the Buddha image, i.e., when it was first begun, how far it has been regularly or continuously performed and by what class of persons, while they might simultaneously make such references as they thought necessary to the pundits at Benares, Nadia, or elsewhere.

As they would be an informal tribunal, there would be no objection, without directly associating Mr. Oldham with them, to instructing him to render them every assistance in his power in procuring the requisite information. They would of course visit the shrine, but they would probably interview the Mahanth in Mr. Oldham's house or somewhere else than at Bodh-Gaya. The less use that is made at the present stage of my name perhaps the better.

They should endeavour to ascertain for what reason the Mahanth receded from the agreement that he was about to conclude. They might remind him that a proposal so generous in its recognition of his claims, and making so small a demand upon his good will, should not lightly be refused, and, if refused, might not again be renewed. And if he showed any disposition to conclude an agreement, they might report this for the information of Government.

In the event of the Mahanth proving refractory, your Commissioners would probably advise you as to the steps which they would recommend to be taken. In any case they would probably give a pronouncement upon the ritual question, and they might, or they might not, advise that the ownership of the shrine, and the right to control its worship, should be tested by a private suit in a Court of Law.

I need hardly add that their proceedings should throughout be private, and that the less publicity or press notice attracted by them, the better.

15. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 15th March 1903. Instructions for Mitra and Pundit. Viceroy's name withheld.

Your Excellency's letter of yesterday's date reached me at dinner time, and as I had guests here I was unable to answer it at once.

I thoroughly understand the situation as explained in Your Excellency's letter confirming what was said on Friday afternoon, and I will now send for the two gentlemen named and put matters in train.

They will require something in writing, and I propose to draw up a short Memorandum of instructions for their guidance. In order to enable me to prepare this Memorandum, I shall be much obliged if you will cause to be sent to me the file of papers in the case with two spare copies of Your Excellency's Memorandum, written after your visit to Gaya.

I propose, with your approval, to use my discretion as to giving the members of the Committee a copy of that Memorandum, for if it is given to them, I shall find it difficult to keep Your Excellency's name in the background as much as you suggest.

I will report later on what progress has been made.

16. Letter from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 15th March 1903. Viceroy's name kept in background.

I had meant the file to be sent and have given instructions accordingly.

What I meant about keeping my name in the background was that the Commissioners should not flourish it at all at Gaya or elsewhere. On the other hand, it is not only desirable, but it seems to me necessary, that they should know what has recently passed: and if this is so, they must inevitably be fully acquainted with what I wrote (the file contains the amended Note), and what Mr. Oldham did upon it.

17. Note by Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 16th March 1903, on Bodh-Gaya Temple case, for guidance of Commissioners.

The ancient and historic shrine of Bodh-Gaya and the present condition of its affairs have long attracted my interest and attention, and from the time that I went to Patna as Commissioner of the Division in March 1896, I have made a special study of them. Lately, when His Excellency the Viceroy announced his intention of visiting Bodh-Gaya, I drew up for him a note stating the main facts and my conclusions and recommendations upon them, and I fortified this memorandum with such references as I could find. His Excellency visited Bodh-Gaya in January last, was much interested in all that he saw, and recorded a note of what passed there, and of his views on the whole subject.

2. Briefly the facts about the Bodh-Gaya Temple are these. It is undoubtedly a Buddhist Shrine of the greatest antiquity which for twenty centuries Buddhist devotees have visited on pilgrimage. No question of Hindu ownership was ever raised till 1727 A. D., when the village in which the building stands was granted to a Hindu Mahanth by a Mogul Sovereign. The shrine remained a ruin till quite recent years, when it was restored at the expense of the Bengal Government at a large cost. It was not till some seven or eight years ago that Hindu worship began to be carried on there with a definite purpose, viz., as a counterblast to an ill-advised attempt on the part of certain Buddhists to place in the temple an image of their own.

3. In the criminal proceedings which took place before the Magistrate of Gaya in 1895, these facts have been proved by many witnesses, including Hindus

of the highest caste, and these witnesses also stated that the so-called Hindu worship was spurious and impure, and of such a character that they could not take part in it.

4. In all the circumstances I am myself satisfied that the so-called Hindu worship carried on before the image of Buddha is unreal and unorthodox, and that it is little deserving of respect. It is also clear that it does greatly shock and offend the Buddhist community, who were the builders of the shrine, who have venerated and visited it for centuries, and who ought now to enjoy the exclusive control of the worship there.

5. The question is how a transfer of control is to be effected. When His Excellency the Viceroy was in Gaya, he had a long conversation with the Mahanth, and afterwards suggested to Mr. Oldham, the Collector, the lines of an agreement which might be accepted by the Mahanth, the gist of which was that he should voluntarily abandon the so-called Hindu worship and allow the Buddhists to worship at the shrine in their own fashion. The Mahanth was at first inclined to fall in with this plan, but unfortunately acting under bad advice he eventually abandoned his attitude of complaisance and declined to enter into any agreement.

6. In these circumstances I have decided that the proper course will be to depute to Gaya, a couple of Hindu gentlemen of acknowledged learning, position and authority as informal Commissioners to make further enquiry into the facts, and to obtain for me fuller information than I now possess : for this purpose I have selected Babu Sarada Charan Mitra of the Calcutta Bar, a Judge-designate of the Calcutta High Court, and Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prashad Shastri, Principal of the Sanskrit College in Calcutta, and they have signified their willingness to serve. Mr. Oldham, who was till yesterday Collector of Gaya, will be requested to give the Commissioners every assistance in his power, and without being formally associated with them, he will accompany them to Gaya, and will sit with and advise them as may be required : he will of course not sign their report. The Commissioners will receive a deputation allowance and travelling allowance at the authorized rates.

7. Their business will be to ascertain with accuracy the position and claims of the Mahanth and the facts as regards the Hindu worship of the great image of Buddha, *i. e.*, when it was first commenced, how far it has been regularly or continuously performed, and by what class of persons, and so on. They might also at the same time make such references as may be thought necessary to the pundits at Benares, Nadia or elsewhere in order to ascertain whether such worship as is carried on is genuine, orthodox, and worthy of commendation.

8. The Commissioners will of course visit the shrine and see the actual condition of affairs there, and they should interview the Mahanth at the Collector's house or at some place other than Bodh-Gaya itself. With the assistance of the Collector they will send for and examine any one whose evidence they may

desire to take. As the proceedings will be of an informal character, it will not be necessary for them to do more than make brief notes for their own guidance. There will be no occasion for them to hear counsel or pleaders. They should put again before the Mahanth the agreement which was suggested to him by Mr. Oldham, and should ascertain why he receded from it. He should be reminded that the proposal embodied in it was generous in its recognition of his claims and in the small demand which it made upon his goodwill, that it should not be lightly refused, and that if refused it might not be renewed : if he were to show any disposition to accede to it, the fact should be reported to Government. On the other hand, in the event of the Mahanth proving refractory the Commissioners should then advise as to the steps to be taken : they should make a pronouncement upon the question of ritual, and should consider and advise whether the ownership of the shrine and the right to control its worship should be tested by a private suit in a court of law.

9. In order that the Commissioners may be furnished with a summary of the information that is now before the Government, they will be supplied with the following papers :—

- (1) The paper book of the proceedings in the Bodh-Gaya Temple Case, 1895.
- (2) A memorandum prepared in the Bengal Secretariat, dated the 31st December 1902.
- (3) A memorandum by the Lieutenant-Governor, dated the 9th January 1903.
- (4) A note by His Excellency the Viceroy, dated the 16th January 1903.

Any other papers that they may desire to see will also be placed at their disposal. These papers will establish the facts stated in the preceding paragraphs, and will also show that the Government of Bengal have never definitely surrendered their right of control, and have maintained a custodian at Bodh-Gaya since February 1890.

10. The Commission should start for Gaya without undue delay. Their proceedings should be quiet and unostentatious, and their report should be confidential.

18. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 17th March 1903. Opinions of Pundit and Mitra : their departure for Gaya.

I have just had here the two native gentlemen who are to go to Gaya. They start on Thursday night by the mail, and expect to be back in a week.

The opinions of the pundit we already know. Babu S. C. Mitra, I was glad to find, was equally favourable : he has little doubt that the so-called Hindu

worship is impure and unworthy of consideration. Both agreed that the terms offered to the Mahanth were eminently reasonable, but the lawyer doubted whether the Buddhists would get much out of a civil suit.

I am writing to Mr. Oldham to join them at Gaya ; he is now at Bankipore waiting to go on leave.

I will report anything of interest that I may learn.

19. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 5th April 1903. Draft agreement. Board of Control.

I am now able to give Your Excellency some information as to the progress of affairs in connection with the Bodh-Gaya negotiations.

On Monday last (March 30th) I had a meeting here with Mr. Oldham, who was on his way home, and with Mr. Justice Mitra, and Pundit Hara Prashad Shastri. The two latter showed me the draft of their report, which will be copied and sent in ere long : they have found clearly that the Hindu worship at the Bodh-Gaya Shrine is not orthodox, and that the Mahanth *ought* to surrender the control of the ritual there : but they admitted that they found him most obstinate and difficult to persuade. After much negotiation he propounded the draft of an agreement which he might perhaps sign, and Mr. Mitra showed me the draft of another, differing slightly, which he considered the Mahanth ought to accept. The purport of both is (1) that the Mahanth shall be declared the *de facto* manager of the temple and the ground landlord in possession ; (2) that his right to receive all the offerings be *affirmed* ; (3) that it be declared that both Hindus and Buddhists are entitled to worship in the temple, but so that neither shall give offence to the other ; (4) that the Hindus be declared entitled to make offerings at both Bo-trees ; and (5) that a Board be appointed to decide all disputes, consisting of the senior Sub-Judge and Deputy Magistrate (Hindus) at Gaya, *ex-officio*, of one Hindu and one Buddhist to be appointed by Government, and one Hindu to be appointed by the Mahanth : 5 in all.

They left me to go and see Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, the moving spirit of the British Indian Association, with the idea of winning him over, after which they proposed to send for the Mahanth, and they hoped that the combined effort of the Commissioners, Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, and Sir Jotendro Mohun Tagore would be able to persuade him to agree to the proposed terms.

I have been awaiting developments, and I have to-day had a visit from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea. I should have liked to ask him what the British Indian Association were doing in this galley, but I abstained, and let him talk. He

professed to be most willing to help Government to settle this matter, and produced the draft of an agreement which was in effect the same that had been shown me on Monday as emanating from the Mahanth. I went through this with him pointing out what I thought were its faults, and made several pencil alterations, the chief of which was to provide definitely in clause 3 that the image of Buddha in the temple is not to be painted or clothed, and that the Mahanth is to be bound by the decisions of the Board as well as the disputants. The Raja said that he would accept these alterations, and that, after showing them to Mr. Justice Mitra (my suggestion), he would send for the Mahanth to Calcutta, and persuade him to agree to these terms. He is to see me again this day week after my return from Chittagong.

I hope Your Excellency will consider that what we have got is worth having, always provided that the Mahanth does in fact sign the agreement. We do not get the control of the temple and of the ritual absolutely surrendered, but we get a promise not to clothe or paint the image, and the appointment of a Board to control disputes which will well represent the views of the Government: two of the members will be Government servants, and two others Government nominees: no doubt the Buddhists will have only one representative, but Mr. Oldham assures me that even this will be no easy task. I had desired to have a smaller Committee consisting of the District Judge as President, and two members, one the Senior Hindu Deputy Magistrate, and the other a nominee of the Mahanth, but I could not persuade the Raja to accept this, and perhaps it would have involved too direct an interference with the administration of the temple.

I will write again as soon as I have more to report.

20. Telegram from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 8th April 1903. Draft agreement. Board of Control.

Viceroy has received your letter, and does not see what we gain by proposed agreement. The main object of moving in the matter at all seems to be sacrificed by affirming right of both parties to worship in temple and at both trees, which they do now, while the Mahanth gets all and more than his present rights affirmed. The only substantial change in situation is appointment of a Board with a permanent Hindu majority, which seems very doubtful advantage. Viceroy begs that no such agreement be concluded without his assent, and asks you to consider whether it is not in reality complete surrender to Mahanth.

**21. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 14th April 1903. Draft agreement.
Draft report. Mahanth's agreement, etc.**

I received Your Excellency's telegram of the 8th instant just before I left Chittagong, and had no time to consider and reply to it before leaving. Since my return I have had an interview with Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea on behalf of the Mahanth, and am now able to give you the latest information on the subject.

2. I regret that Your Excellency thinks the agreement suggested in my previous letter so little advantageous, for though I admit that it does not obtain for us all that we want, yet I submit that a good deal is gained.

3. The agreement concedes three points to the Mahanth : (a) the fact that he is *de facto* manager of the temple, and ground landlord ; (b) his right to all the offerings made there ; and (c) the right of all Hindus to make offerings under both Mahabodhi trees. In my judgment the first two admissions merely recite existing facts, and the third is based upon a finding of the Commissioners who have discovered from an inspection of ancient texts that the western Mahabodhi tree has always been an object of veneration to the Hindus, who can hardly, therefore, be expected to accept the northern Mahabodhi tree as a substitute for it.

4. On the other hand, we obtain, if the Mahanth accepts the agreement, a declaration from him that the Buddhists are entitled to worship in the temple without molestation, and that the worship of the Hindus shall be so carried out as not to annoy the Buddhists, in particular that the figure of Buddha shall not be clothed or painted : I would have added that offerings of *ghi* shall not be made, but I am informed by the Commissioners and by Mr. Oldham that some sects of Buddhists do make offerings of that material nature.

5. What Your Lordship originally desired was that the Mahanth should surrender control of the temple to the Government, or to an independent committee : what he may perhaps be induced to agree to is that he should retain the control, but that all objectionable practices should be forbidden and that an independent Board (mostly composed, no doubt, of Hindus) should see that these arrangements are carried out. The difference between these two proposals is, I presume, the measure of Your Excellency's disappointment.

6. I now forward certain papers for Your Excellency's perusal. The first of these (1) is the draft report of the Commissioners, which they left with me when I last saw them before I went to Chittagong. I believe they have not signed and submitted it, because they hope to be able to signify the probable acquiescence of the Mahanth with their recommendations : moreover, Mr. Justice Mitra has been and still is away for his Easter holidays. The second (2) is a Memorandum drawn up by Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea at the dictation of the Mahanth. The third

(3) is the draft agreement mentioned in my last letter : it contains the Mahanth's proposals with some additions and modifications by myself : the phrases and passages italicised are those to which the Mahanth objects. The last of the series (4) is the same as (3), but with additions by Mr. Justice Mitra showing what terms he considers that the Mahanth should accept.

7. Turning first to (1) Your Excellency will see that though the Commissioners find that the worship of the image of Buddha is unorthodox and has only been regularly practised since 1895, there has been occasional worship for some time, even before the image was placed in its present position about 1884. They find that although all Buddhists abhor the placing of the *tilak* on the forehead of the image, some schools allow the robing of the image and the offering of *ghi* and oil before it. Further, they find that the Hindus cannot be excluded from worshipping under the Mahabodhi tree at west or back of the temple, and that the Mahanth is not only the ground landlord of the village in which the temple stands, but also the trustee of the temple for religious purposes. They advise that a suit for exclusive possession of the temple and the Mahabodhi trees is not likely to be successful, but they recommend that the management of the temple should be taken from the Mahanth and made over to trustees, preferably with his consent, but if that cannot be obtained then by legislative enactment.

8. The Mahanth's Memorandum (2) does not require much notice : it is not a convincing argument although the fact may be true that the number of Hindu visitors is larger than that of Buddhists. The variations of ritual followed by the different schools of Buddhists are admitted by the Commissioners also, and it seems clear that to keep the image entirely unclothed and to refrain from offerings of *ghi* and oil is the practice, not of all Buddhists, but of the more orthodox party only. The important point is that the Mahanth insists that placing the *tilak* mark on the forehead of the image is an essential part of the Hindu worship, while the Commissioners find that this is utterly abhorrent to all Buddhists : this appears to be the crux of the whole controversy. The Mahanth also urges that the decision of the Board of Control should be binding only on the disputants who come before them, and should not have general application.

9. I come next to the two draft agreements. That which has been modified by Mr. Justice Mitra (4) goes beyond that which was first laid before me (3). Besides adopting the emendations which I suggested, Mr. Mitra recommends that the District Judge shall be the President of the Board, that its decisions shall be final, and that they shall be binding on all parties ; and lastly, that the duties of the Board shall be regulated by rules drawn up by the Government of Bengal in consultation with the Mahanth. Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, who handed me this draft, with the emendations made in the handwriting of Mr. Mitra, said that the Mahanth altogether rejected the agreement in this form, and that he also objected to the amendments made by myself in the agreement (3) : I have italicised them.

10. It is evident that the Mahanth is in a most uncompromising mood, and the Raja informed me that the Mahanth declines to give any definite answer till he has seen his counsel, Mr. Cotton, who will be in Calcutta on the 17th : in these circumstances I did not think that anything would be gained by granting the Mahanth an interview, but he has agreed to come to Darjeeling, if necessary, after he has seen Mr. Cotton.

11. In these circumstances I shall be glad to receive Your Excellency's further instructions. I never had any intention of concluding any agreement without first ascertaining Your Lordship's wishes, and there will now be ample time for me to receive an expression of them before giving a reply to the letter or representation which I expect to get from the Mahanth next week.

12. It is quite clear that the Mahanth is altogether opposed to surrendering control of the ritual to any Board that may be appointed, though he would probably agree to a Board, mainly Hindu, which should settle disputes among the pilgrims : he agrees that the worship of both communities shall be conducted in such a way that neither shall offend the other, but he nullifies this concession by insisting that the Hindus shall be entitled to apply the *tilak* to the forehead of the image, an act which is *anathema* to the Buddhists : lastly, he objects to a provision that the image shall not be clothed or painted.

13. I have always felt that we had no real lever with which to move the Mahanth, but hoped that under the influence of Your Excellency's personality he might have been persuaded to comply with your expressed wishes. That expectation has not been fulfilled, and it remains to be considered what should be done.

14. I will of course endeavour to persuade the Mahanth to accept some reasonable agreement, but have not much hope of success. It is, I fear, almost certain that he will not accept Mr. Mitra's version of the agreement, and Your Excellency apparently thinks that the other one (3) is not worth having. The Commissioners advise that a civil suit is not likely to be successful, and if this view is adopted there remains, so far as I can see, only the alternatives of legislation or of abstention from action. As to the former course, if Your Excellency determines to follow it, it would be better, I think, to bring the Bodh-Gaya Temple within the scope of the Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments, by a special provision if need be, rather than to pass a special Act dealing with this temple alone, but on this point I give my opinion with much diffidence. If, however, Your Excellency decides against legislation, and considers that a partial concession is not worth having, then I am at a loss what course to suggest except to drop the matter, and to leave it to me merely to direct the Magistrate of Gaya to maintain a vigilant watch in order to prevent any kind of interference with the Buddhists and their worship.

Enclosures of No. 21:(1) *Draft report of Commissioners sent to Bodh-Gaya.*

We have arrived at the following conclusions with reference to the questions submitted to us —

1. That the Hindu *Shastras* do not warrant the worship of any image of Buddha, and they do not contain any *dhyana mantras*, etc., for such worship.

2. That the great image of Buddha in the Mahabodhi Temple at Bodh-Gaya was not there before the excavations were made, and the temple was repaired under the superintendence of Mr. Beglar. It was brought there from the Mahanth's *math*, as admitted by himself before us, but there was no regular Hindu worship of the image until the year 1895.

3. That people in the neighbourhood have been in the habit of making votive offerings before the image, and so there was occasional Hindu worship in the temple both before and after the image was brought in there.

4. That the Buddhists should have the right to worship freely, and in the ways adopted by the several Buddhist countries. The Hindus may be permitted to worship, but should not be permitted to decorate the image or cover it with cloth, and no form of Hindu worship should be permitted which offends the Buddhists. The Buddhists, of whichever school, abhor the *tilak* mark, and it should be therefore peremptorily stopped. The robing of the image of Buddha is allowed by many sects, tolerated by many others, and disliked only by some of the Southern schools. The Hindus should not be allowed to robe the image. There are many sects of Buddhists which allow the burning of *ghi* or oil before the image of Buddha in *homa*, while the Southern schools look upon such practice with dislike, but no one considers this as desecration.

5. That the Mahabodhi tree at the back of the temple has from time immemorial been an object of veneration by the Hindus, and the Hindus have for more than three centuries offered *pindas* to their ancestors under it. It is one of their forty-five *bedis*. This practice should not be prohibited. But the Hindus should not be permitted to do any other act under the tree which may give offence to the Buddhists.

6. That the *pipal* tree at the north of the temple is not the Mahabodhi tree referred to in the Hindu *Shastras* as an object of veneration. But for some years the Hindus have offered *pindas* under it also, whenever the number of pilgrims to Bodh-Gaya has been large, as it is in the month of Aswin.

7. That the present Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya is not only the ground landlord of the place, it being included in the village Taradih granted in 1727 A.D. by the Muhammadan Government to the then Mahanth, but he and his predecessors have always acted as superintendent of the temple, and exercised such acts of possession as are consistent with their being *sevatis*, or trustees, and their right has been recognized by the present Government at least since 1875. They have always received the offerings.

8. That a suit against the Mahanth, either by the Buddhists or by Government, for exclusive possession of the temple or the Mahabodhi tree, is not likely to be successful, and is not advisable, especially as the Mahanth does not deny the right of the Buddhists to worship in the way they have always done, and does not cause obstruction to such worship. The

Buddhists may at least claim a customary right of going into the temple and worshipping, but this is not denied by the Mahanth.

9. That it is desirable for the preservation of peace in the future and for giving the Buddhists unrestricted right to worship in the ways prescribed in different Buddhist countries, that the management of the temple should be taken from the Mahanth, and entrusted to a Board of Trustees, and this should be done with, if possible, the Mahanth's consent, but if he proves refractory, by legislation.

(2) *Memorandum in re Bodh-Gaya taken down by Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea at dictation of Mahanth.*

The Mahanth for the time being is recognized as the owner or proprietor of the lands, temple, and estates belonging to the shrine. [Mr. Grierson's book printed in 1893 in the Bengal Secretariat Press.]

More than 100,000 Hindu pilgrims worship the image in the Mahabodhi temple and offer *pindas* under the fig-trees.

Japanese and Chinese pilgrims go there only once in 8 or 10 years, and they only 5 to 10 in number.

The Chinese residents in Calcutta never go there.

About 100 Ceylonese pilgrims visit Bodh-Gaya annually.

From 100 to 200 Buddhist pilgrims from Burma, Siam, Bhootan, Tibet, and Chittagong go to Bodh-Gaya annually.

The Buddhists of Tibet and Nepal anoint the forehead of the image with a paste.

The Ceylonese Buddhists sprinkle eau-de-cologne upon the forehead of the image, but do not anoint the forehead.

The Burmese and Siamese Buddhists clothe the image.

It is not the Mahanth who clothed the image, but the pilgrims who do so. Only a month ago a Siamese priest clothed the image at a cost of Rs. 2,500 or more.

Anointing the forehead of the image with sandal-wood paste (putting a dot between the eyebrows) is an essential part of the Hindu ritual. It cannot be dispensed with. A large portion of the Buddhists themselves follow the practice.

The most authoritative book of the Buddhists is the "Lalit Bistar." In it too the ritual prescribed for worship includes anointing the forehead and clothing the image.

The decision of the Board in cases of differences between pilgrims should only be binding on the pilgrims themselves. Decisions might be come to on collusive differences between pilgrims. Neither community would agree to be bound by a decision come to regarding a difference between two pilgrims.

(3) *Terms proposed by Mahanth, and provisionally modified by Mr. J. A. Bourdillon.*

1. The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya is declared to be the *ground* landlord of the Mahabodhi Temple and the surroundings, and to be the *de facto manager* in possession thereof.
 2. The Mahanth is entitled to all fees and offerings given at the temple and its surroundings, and under the Mahabodhi trees.
 3. Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great temple, but the worship by one community shall be conducted in such a way as not to give offence to the other : *in particular neither party shall be entitled to paint the image or to put clothes upon it.*
 4. The Hindus are declared entitled to offer *pindas* under the Mahabodhi tree adjoining the west wall of the temple as well as the one to the north of the temple.
 5. In order that the above terms relating to the right of worship may be carried out to the satisfaction of both communities, and that there may be no friction in future, it is stipulated that all questions arising between the two classes shall be referred to a special Board of five, consisting of the following persons :—A Senior Judicial Officer and the Senior Deputy Magistrate of Gaya *ex-officio* who must be Hindus by birth, persuasion, and observances : a Buddhist and a Hindu to be nominated by Government, and lastly, a Hindu nominated by the Mahanth. The decisions of the Board on all questions shall be binding on both the communities and also on the Mahanth.
 6. *The duties of the special Board should be regulated by rules to be framed by the Government of Bengal in consultation with the Mahanth.*
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(4) *Draft agreement as proposed by Mahanth and modified by Mr. Justice Mitra.*

1. The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya is declared to be the ground-landlord of the Mahabodhi temple and its surroundings, and to be the *de facto manager* in possession thereof.
2. The Mahanth is entitled to all fees and offerings given at the temple and its surroundings and at the Bodhi trees.
3. Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great temple but the worship by one community shall be conducted in such a way as not to give offence to the other : in particular, neither party shall be entitled to paint the image or to put clothes upon it. The other details to be settled by the Board named below.
4. The Hindus are declared entitled to offer *pindas* under the Mahabodhi tree adjoining the west of the temple as well as north of the temple, but in doing so, and in worshipping the trees, nothing should be done to offend the Buddhists.
5. In order that the above terms relating to the right of worship by the Hindus and the Buddhists may be carried out to the satisfaction of both communities, and that there may be no friction in future, it is stipulated that a special Board of five, consisting of the following persons, *viz.*, the District Judge, the Senior Hindu Judicial Officer, and the Senior Hindu Deputy

Magistrate of Gaya; *ex-officio*, and two persons to be nominated by the Mahanth, should have superintendence of the worship, and settle all disputes that may arise relating to worship and offerings at the temple and under the Bodhi trees. The decisions of the Board on all questions shall be binding on both communities, and shall be final.

6. The duties of the special Board shall be regulated by rules to be framed by the Government of Bengal in consultation with the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya, and the Board shall, with the approval of the Government and the Mahanth, frame present rules as to worship and proper performance of ritual.

22. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 24th April 1903. Mahanth's conference with Mr. Cotton, etc. Revised agreement.

I have now to write to Your Excellency about the Bodh-Gaya Temple in continuation of my letter of the 14th instant from Calcutta.

2. Your Excellency will remember that the Mahanth was to hold a conference with Mr. Cotton and others after the 17th instant, and that he was then to send me his further views on the proposed agreement. This meeting took place on the 19th instant, and there were present Mr. Justice Mitra, Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, Mr. Cotton, the Mahanth, and a vakil of his apparently from Gaya. I enclose a copy of a letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, dated the 19th April, which states what occurred, and what the Mahanth is prepared to do.

3. On receipt of this letter, I telegraphed to Mr. Justice Mitra for his version of the affair, and I append a copy of his letter in reply.

4. Your Excellency will see that the Mahanth is willing to declare definitely that no *tilak* mark shall be placed upon the image, and that "if any large body of Buddhists desire it," he is ready to "remove the clothing from the image from time to time." Mr. Justice Mitra's letter states that if a little pressure is brought to bear on the Mahanth, he is not unwilling to give in to the appointment of a Committee for the decision of questions of ritual. I have, therefore, addressed to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea the letter of yesterday's date, of which I append a copy.

5. Subject to what Your Excellency may decide, it seems to me that if we obtain from the Mahanth a formal undertaking that he will not place the *tilak* mark on the image, that he will not clothe it, and that he will accept a Board or Committee which shall decide the ritual, and to which all questions in dispute shall be referred, we shall have got as much as we can expect from a man over whom we have no effective control, short of legislation, though the concession is less

than we hoped to obtain in the first instance. To make quite clear the terms of the agreement which I think might now be obtained, I set them forth in the accompanying draft of an agreement which in fact differs little from that marked (4), and enclosed in my last letter.

6. I now await Your Excellency's instructions ; it will be seen that I have nowhere promised definitely to accept any of the agreements propounded, and it would be possible, though not I think desirable, to break off all negotiations if Your Excellency thinks that the concessions offered are not worth having.

Enclosures of No. 22 :

- (1) *Letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, to Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 19th April 1903.*

In accordance with your request, I beg to inform Your Honour of the result of the conference held to-day at the British Association Rooms in connection with the matter of the Bodh-Gaya Temple.

There were present the Hon'ble Justice Mitra, myself, Mr. E. A. Cotton, the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya, and Babu Aghore Nath Pal, who accompanied the Mahanth. Mr. Cotton and myself pointed out to the Judge that, as far as the relations between the Mahanth and the large majority of the Buddhist visitors and pilgrims to the temple were concerned, the utmost friendliness and good feeling have always existed, that the Mahabodhi Society, which has been at the bottom of the present agitation from the beginning does not represent the Buddhist community of the world in any sense, and has for its avowed object the ousting of the Mahanth from the temple, and that, such being the case, and there being no dispute between Hindus and Buddhists to compose, the establishment of any Board of Trustees would only lead to a series of dissensions, for the Mahabodhi Society would be encouraged to bring forward any number of pretended claims for decision, and constant friction and ill-feeling will ensue. The Judge thinks that there should be such a Board for "the settlement of future disputes which may be occasioned by the actions of fanatics of the type of Dharmapala," but we have submitted to him, and submit also to Your Honour, that Government will be perfectly well able in the future, as they have done in the past, to check and control any lawlessness at the temple, and that the existence of any Board will create rather than prevent disputes for rightly or wrongly Dharmapala will assume that the Board has been formed for his benefit, and that the Government majority on the Board will accede to his wishes as much as possible.

The Mahanth on his part authorizes Mr. Cotton and myself to say that he undertakes not to place the *tilak* mark on the image, such *tilak* mark being a distinctive feature of Hindu worship, and he goes further and agrees, if any large body of Buddhists so require it, to remove the clothing from the image from time to time for the purpose of their worship. Some of the Buddhist princes, it should be mentioned, have clothed the image in the Mahanth's

presence, and have asked him on such occasions not to remove the clothing. In this connection, I beg to enclose, for Your Honour's kind

* Not printed.

perusal, a collection* of extracts from standard

works and the Shastras regarding Bodh-Gaya, and invite special attention to the passages marked on page 5.

(2) *Letter from Hon'ble Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra, to Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 20th April 1903.*

The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya had yesterday a conference with his lawyers in the presence of Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea. I was also asked to be there and was present.

The Mahanth has agreed not to put on the forehead of the image of Buddha any *tilak* mark and not to keep the image covered with cloth. He is prepared to give an undertaking to the effect.

He is not unwilling to refer all other questions of disputed ritual to a Committee as suggested, and to abide by the common decision. But a little pressure from Your Honour is needed. If Your Honour will write to Raja Peary Mohun insisting upon it, I am confident the Mahanth will agree. I expect the matter will be settled by the end of this week.

(3) *Letter from Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, dated 23rd April 1903.*

I have received your letter of the 19th instant, and have now to reply to it.

2. I am very glad to learn that the Mahanth is willing to undertake that the *tilak* mark shall not be placed upon the forehead of the great image at Bodh-Gaya. In my judgment, however, this does not go quite far enough, and I wish to press also for an undertaking on his part not to clothe the image, nor to allow it to be clothed.

3. It may be that a certain section of the Buddhist community do not object to placing vestments upon the image, but, on the other hand, there is undoubtedly a considerable section of the community who do object strongly to such a practice. We are now all combining to prevent any cause of friction and difficulty in future, and it is to be remembered that when rules of this kind are being framed, it is a fundamental principle that consideration should be shown for the feelings of all, and that no ritual should be allowed which is offensive to any section, especially when, as in this case, it is optional, and not essential, in character.

4. In the next place, I regret that I cannot accept your views in regard to the proposed Committee or Board. If brawling or disturbance of the peace occurs the Magistrate of the District will intervene, but it may well be that from time to time points of difference will arise which could be settled in no better fashion than by an independent Board or Committee consisting of the District Judge, the senior Hindu official in the station, and a nominee of the

Mahanth. The Mahabodhi Society would have no more influence with this body than they now have with the Government, while its existence would relieve both the Magistrate and the Mahanth of the necessity of interfering in petty matters, and would attest the impartial spirit of the latter.

5. I shall be very glad, therefore, if you will press the Mahanth to agree to an undertaking including the above provisions, and others not inconsistent with them which may be found in the draft agreement propounded by Mr. Justice Mitra.

(4) *Revised draft of an agreement with Mahanth.*

1. The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya is declared to be the ground landlord of the Mahabodhi Temple and its surroundings, and to be the *de facto* manager in possession.

2. The Mahanth is entitled to all fees and offerings given at the temple and its surroundings and under the Bodhi trees.

3. Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great temple, but the worship by one community shall be conducted in such a way as not to offend the other; in particular the *tilak* mark shall not be placed on the image, nor shall it be painted, nor shall vestments be placed upon it. Other details may be settled by the Board to be named below.

4. The Hindus are declared to be entitled to offer *pindas* under the Mahabodhi tree adjoining the west of the temple as well as under that to the north of it, but in doing so, and in worshipping the trees, nothing shall be done to offend the Buddhists.

5. In order that the above terms may be carried out to the satisfaction of both communities, and that there may be no friction in future, it is stipulated that a special Board consisting of the following persons, *viz.*, the District Judge, the senior Hindu official in Gaya, and a person to be nominated by the Mahanth, shall be appointed to settle all disputes that may arise and to see that the above stipulations are enforced. The decisions of the Board shall be binding on the Mahanth as well as on the disputants, and shall be final.

6. The duties of the Board shall be regulated by rules to be framed by the Government of Bengal in consultation with the Mahanth, and the Board shall, with the approval of the Bengal Government and the Mahanth, frame rules for the present worship and ritual in the temple and its precincts.

23. *Letter from Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 4th May 1903. Agreement. Constitution of Board. Rules.*

I return the Bodh-Gaya file. I have carefully read the papers and thought over the matter; and I am decidedly of opinion that we should accept the agree-

ment as proposed, subject to certain modifications. My reasons are those given by Mr. Bourdillon in his letter of 14th April ; to which I may add that our own Commissioners (who seem to be fair and reasonable) find that, as a fact, the Hindus have worshipped at the second Bo-tree for some years past, especially when there was a press of worshippers.

I would accept the agreement marked (3) and attached to Mr. Bourdillon's letter of 14th April, subject to the following observations :—

(1) If the Mahanth objects to being declared the "*ground landlord*" and "*de facto manager*," I think we might omit the words I have italicised, but say, "*is declared, for the purposes of this agreement and without prejudice, to be the landlord and manager in possession.*"

(2) I would insist upon the absolute prohibition of *tilak* and paint.

(3) If the Mahanth will not consent to the clothing of the image being prohibited, it should be provided that the image will be unclothed at any time at the request of—say five—or more Buddhists, for the purposes of their worship.

(4) I would not have the District Judge on the Board. As Mr. Bourdillon himself recognises, in his letter of 5th April, that would be "too direct an interference [by Government] with the administration of the temple." The official members of the Board should belong to it as Hindus, not as officials ; but their official status will secure their independence and their freedom from local bias.

(5) I would constitute the Board as follows :—

(i) The senior Hindu Sub-Judge.

(ii) , , Deputy Magistrate.

(iii and iv) Two members nominated by Government to be *either Hindus or Buddhists*.

(v) A Hindu nominated by the Mahanth.

Either (i) or (ii), whichever is senior, to be the President (or, in order to avoid changes of President necessarily following upon transfer—the President to be selected by the Collector from time to time from among the members).

(6) I think the decisions of the Board must necessarily be binding upon the Mahanth as regards the particular dispute in, and occasion on, which they are given ; otherwise he might make them of no avail by refusing to accept or act upon them.

(7) But I think it would be most unsafe to declare them generally to be final, and binding for the future. The composition of the Board will change ; and we might have a perverse and biased Board giving unjust decisions which a future reasonable Board would be unable to alter. I would provide as follows :—

(a) The Mahanth to be made a party to all disputes which are referred to the Board for decision,

- (b) The decision to be binding upon all the parties ; but (unless confirmed as provided below) as regards only the particular dispute in which, and the particular occasion on which, the decision is given.
- (c) The Board may refer any of its decisions to the Collector for confirmation ; and the Collector may, on the application of any party to the dispute in which a decision has been given by the Board, call for the decision in order to consider whether he shall confirm it.
- (d) When a decision of the Board is before the Collector for confirmation under Rule (c) he shall give notice to the parties, and hear them on the question as to whether the decision is to be confirmed or not ; and may make such further enquiry as he thinks fit. He will have no power to set aside or alter the decision ; and if he refuses to confirm it, it will still be binding as provided in Rule (b). If he confirms it, it will be final, and generally binding for the future.

I suggest the Collector, rather than the District Judge, because he is concerned in keeping the peace, and because the matter should be regarded from the point of view of practical fairness to all, rather than from a technical point of view.

(8) I do not think Government should make rules for the guidance of the Board. Government should interfere as little as possible.

(9) I am inclined to doubt whether it is necessary or advisable for the Board to make general rules for the worship and ritual, even subject to the approval of the Bengal Government and the Mahanth (as is proposed). It is impossible to foresee all eventualities ; and such rules once made, could not be altered without getting the Mahanth to agree, however desirable an alteration might be. In course of time a series of decisions of the Board will come into existence, which will serve the purpose better than any rigid rules, I think.

There may, of course, be conclusive objections to my suggestions under head (7) which have not occurred to me. But I should be inclined to put them to Mr. Bourdillon for consideration.

Your Excellency will see, from Nos. 72 and 74 of the extracts* from the Native

* Not printed.

Press which I put up with the file, that the native papers have got hold of our inquiries.

24. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 7th May 1903. Mahanth refuses to sign. Informal arrangement suggested.

In continuation of my letter of the 24th of April about the Bodh-Gaya Temple, I have now to forward to Your Excellency copy of a letter from Raja Peary Mohun

Mukerjea on the same subject, dated the 29th idem. I have kept it back for a few days in the expectation that I might perhaps receive Your Excellency's instructions on my previous letters, but I have now decided that it should be withheld no longer.

2. The letter speaks for itself, and I have little to add by way of comment. The Mahanth, through his supporters, Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea and Mr. Cotton, now refuses to sign any agreement, not even that a draft of which was handed to me by the Raja on the 13th of April, which forms enclosure (3) to my letter of the 14th of April, and the substance of which was reported to Your Excellency in my letter of the 5th idem. Your Excellency was dissatisfied with the terms of that draft agreement, and may, therefore, perhaps be inclined to learn without much concern the Mahanth's refusal to sign any document of that purport.

3. It is not stated in the present letter that the Mahanth intends to withdraw from all his previous offers, though it is stated that he will not sign an agreement. I propose, therefore, if Your Excellency approves, to press him to write me a letter stating what he is prepared to promise, *viz.*, generally that neither Hindus nor Buddhists shall be allowed to worship in such a manner as to give offence either to other and particularly that the *tilak* mark shall not be placed upon the forehead of the image, that it shall not always remain clothed, and that, if any large body of Buddhists desire it, the clothing shall be removed from time to time for purposes of worship. If there is to be no agreement, there need be no admissions on our part.

4. This seems to be all that we can now obtain without having recourse to a suit, which is not recommended by our Commissioners, or to legislation.

5. I need not deal at length with the other matters in the Raja's letter. It is unlikely (paragraph 2) that the Mahanth would be deposed by his disciples if he agreed to our proposals, even if they possess the power to depose him. Equally futile is it to say that any regulations he might make as regards ritual would not be binding on the pilgrims. It is waste of time to argue (paragraph 3) that the Bodh-Gaya Temple is a Hindu Shrine, and to quote authorities which are not authoritative. Lastly (paragraph 4) the absence of friction at the present time affords no guarantee for the future, nor does it prove that no offence to the Buddhist community exists : it only testifies to their patient and peaceable character.

6. I shall be glad to learn, in due course, what are Your Excellency's wishes in the matter, in order that I may give the Mahanth an answer.

7. I should add that I have not summoned the Mahanth to Darjeeling, first because I am not in possession of Your Excellency's views on the correspondence which was laid before you, and secondly because I have little hope of extracting from him anything beyond what he has set down on paper after consultation with his Calcutta friends.

Enclosure of No. 24 :

Letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, to Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 29th April 1903. Signing of agreement.

I have explained to the Mahanth Your Honour's letter of the 23rd instant, and impressed upon him the desirability of agreeing to terms which, without affecting his rights, would be satisfactory to Mr. Dharmapala, and the Mahabodhi Society. He is not actuated by any spirit of perversity, and nothing would be more gratifying to him than to be able to accede to Your Honour's wishes, but he thinks that it would be a betrayal of his trust if he were to agree to the conditions that no Hindu or Buddhist pilgrim should be allowed to clothe the image when their *Shastras* enjoin such clothing, or that any Board of Trustees should be appointed in the manner proposed.

2. The Mahanth justly apprehends that any agreement signed by him would not go for much. He is a mere Trustee for a time and is the proprietor of the shrine merely during the incumbency of his office as Mahanth. If he agrees to anything that it is contrary to the tenets of the *Shastras*, he renders himself [liable] to dismissal from his office by the Sanyasis, and the punchayet nominated by them by whom he was elected, and also by the Hindu community ; while his agreement, even if he were allowed to continue in his *gadi*, would not be binding on the pilgrims, who would continue to worship the image as they are required to do by the *Shastras*, and as they have been used to do. It is on these grounds that he feels himself unable to undertake to sign the agreement shewn by me to Your Honour as his, and which, as a matter of fact, was drafted by his pleader of Gaya.

3. In discussing the matter with the Mahanth, I find that he cannot for a moment be divested of the idea that Bodh-Gaya is a purely Hindu Shrine, that it has been recognized as such in all previous Government correspondence and in such independent Government publications as Mr. Grierson's "Bodh-Gaya" and "Lists of Ancient Monuments in Bengal," that as a mere temporary Trustee his consent or refusal to any condition would go for nothing, and that Lord Kimberley put the thing in a proper light when he said, in reply to Sir Edwin Arnold, that—"It is stated that Bodh-Gaya is regarded with reverence by the Hindus, and no mere agreement for transfer between the Hindu Mahanth and the Mahabodhi Society would meet or cover all the considerations raised by the subject."

4. Nor can the Mahanth admit that there is any question here of any dispute between himself as representing the Hindus, and the Buddhist community as a whole. The latter are perfectly satisfied with this management of the temple and the worship, and no complaint has ever been made to him or to the authorities on this head by the many Buddhist pilgrims from Siam, Tibet, China, Japan, Nepal, Burma, and other countries who visit the temple. The sole discordant note, he points out, is raised by the Mahabodhi Society and Mr. Dharmapala, whose motives in displaying an interest in the temple, we would remind Your Honour, have already been made clear by the High Court in Jaipal Gir's case. Nothing has since occurred of which the Mahanth is aware to alter those motives ; and in any case he feels himself quite unable to accept the proposition that the Mahabodhi Society has any claim or right to speak on behalf of the Buddhist community of the world. As matters now stand there is no friction between himself and the Buddhist pilgrims to the temple, and he asks me to assure Your Honour that nothing will be wanted on his part to continue and promote the present harmonious condition of affairs. The Singhalese Buddhists, if they visit the temple for purely

religious purposes, will always meet with consideration at his hands, and he will do his best to respect their prejudices in the manner already indicated by me in my previous letter.

5. I have drawn this letter in consultation with Mr. Cotton, and he authorizes me to beg that it may be taken as coming also from him in his capacity as legal adviser of the Mahanth.

25. *Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 17th May 1903. Instructions solicited. Resort to legislation.*

I shall be most obliged if orders can be passed upon the Bodh-Gaya case, and if you can render me assistance in the matter.

I fully realize that His Excellency is overwhelmed with important work, and that the Bodh-Gaya case is not one of very great moment. Therefore I do not write to trouble him about it.

But the present situation is rather unpleasant. The Mahanth has stated what he is prepared to concede, and I see no prospect of getting any more out of him, but *some* orders should be passed. He and his friends must realize that either I am non-plussed and unable to come to a decision, or else that I am awaiting instructions from the Viceroy.

The plain English of the case is that we have no lever short of legislation to move the Mahanth. He is a stubborn ecclesiastic, and our only chance of getting anything out of him was that he should be so moved by His Excellency's influence and personality as to give way to what was suggested by him.

As soon as the Viceroy's departure relieved him from this hypnotic influence—the game was lost—and neither Oldham nor I—nor anyone else—could restore its fortunes.

26. *Telegram from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 23rd May 1903. Instructions promised.*

Viceroy hopes to send you full instructions in Gaya case within a couple of days.

27. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 24th May 1903. Draft letter to Mr. Bourdillon. Threats of legislation and publication.*

I send for your perusal and suggestion the draft letter to Bourdillon of which I spoke,

You will observe that I am asking the assent of the Mahanth to nothing to which at some stage of the discussion he has not already agreed—in fact I am doing no more than holding him to his word—and that the two threats which I hold in reserve are a request to the Secretary of State to legislate, and the publication of a letter to the Bengal Government, rather on the lines of our recent Tata communication.

If Bourdillon is clever in putting the case before the Mahanth and the Raja at this stage, he ought to frighten them without difficulty into acquiescence. Neither of them can be at all keen for an exposure of their tergiversations.

28. Letter from Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 25th May 1903. Draft letter to Mr. Bourdillon. Threats of legislation and publication.

I return the Bodh-Gaya papers. I have made one or two small suggestions in pencil on Your Excellency's draft letter to Mr. Bourdillon, with which I entirely agree. I think that legislation such as is suggested would rouse no serious opposition; though I am not sure that Secretary of State would sanction it. I think that the means of enforcing compliance with the terms of the Act (if passed) by a recalcitrant Mahanth should be a suit in a Civil Court for his removal. I would have no *executive* interference in the worship.

I also send Your Excellency the notes on the question you desired me to have examined. As I anticipated, we have no power to interfere under the existing law.

Apparently we have not got, in the Home Department, the papers which led to the legislation of 1863. When Your Excellency returns the notes, I will have the question further examined. My impression is that the Resolution of the House simply required us to divest ourselves of executive control in these cases, and would not stand in the way of such legislation as is now suggested.

29. Letter from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 26th May 1903. Case reviewed : instructions : mutual settlement : legislation.

After receiving your letter of April 24th, I was considering the advisability of entering into the agreement with the Mahanth that you recommended, and the need of any amendments in it (points upon which I had taken the advice of

Sir D. Ibbetson) when your letter of May 7th reached me, announcing a complete breakdown in the negotiations. This fresh turn of affairs rendered my previous conclusions obsolete, and necessitated an entire review of the case.

First, let me say that I attribute the failure almost entirely to the appearance upon the scene of Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea and Mr. Cotton. They are the two individuals whom most of all I desired to exclude from any part in the negotiations. I agreed with what you wrote on March 4th: "I think the British Indian Association may be neglected, and they have no place or part in the controversy. They have little or no influence in Behar, and need not be brought on to the stage again." After this pronouncement it was with equal surprise and regret that I learned that on March 30th the Raja had been introduced on to the scene; and with still greater regret that at a yet later stage I heard that Mr. Cotton had been admitted into counsel. I distrust the former gentleman. I have every reason for knowing that the latter is a bitter opponent, and would gladly wreck any scheme in which I am concerned.

However the milk has been spilt: and we now have to deal with the situation as we find it. Let me say, first of all, that I entirely concur with what you wrote to Lawrence, *viz.*, that we cannot acquiesce in the present *impasse*, and that the prestige both of yourself and to some extent also of myself (since I am known to be behind you) is at stake. Neither, regarding the matter from the personal point of view, am I at all disposed to accept defeat at the hands of the Mahanth, the Raja, and Mr. Cotton. The Mahanth was told by Mr. Oldham that I meant to see the matter through, and to that attitude I adhere.

Now what are the conditions in favour of our adopting a strong line? They are as follows:—

(1) After my visit to Gaya the Mahanth told Mr. Oldham on January 19th that "he would not fight against Government," that "he would do as Mr. Oldham might suggest in the matter. He said he promised this, his words being *ap ko jaban diya.*" The Mahanth further agreed to the terms mentioned by Mr. Oldham in his Note on page 234 which went far beyond anything since discussed, inasmuch as they contemplated handing over the great temple and the western Bo-tree exclusively as Buddhist Shrines, and placing the former under a Government trust. The Mahanth "made no objection to any of these terms," and asked only to consult his legal advisers.

(2) On January 20th the Mahanth receded from his attitude of the day before, but said "that he would have a draft made himself, stating the terms to which he had no objection," and he promised to produce this draft within six or seven days.

(3) This promise the Mahanth altogether broke, and in an interview on February 8th with Mr. Oldham, he showed himself extremely obstinate and declined to do anything.

(4) Then ensued an interval of more than a month, during which matters were discussed between us in Calcutta, culminating in the despatch of the small Commission with your instructions on March 16th. On April 5th you wrote to me reporting an interview with the Commissioners on their return on March 30th, in which they informed you that, though the Mahanth had proved most stubborn, he had yet "after much negotiation, propounded the draft of an agreement which he might perhaps sign." It was at this stage that the two Commissioners committed the fatal error of going over and taking the Raja into their counsels. On April 5th you saw the latter, and discussed with him, "an agreement which was in effect the same that had been shown to you on Monday as emanating from the Mahanth." You suggested certain alterations, and "the Raja said that *he would accept these alterations*, and that after showing them to Mr. Justice Mitra, he would send for the Mahanth to Calcutta, *and persuade him to agree to these terms.*" The Raja thereby undertook an obligation and assumed a responsibility to which I shall later on refer.

(5) On April 14th (after I had telegraphed to you my doubts as to the terms of the proposed agreement), you wrote to me enclosing, among other things, a Memorandum drawn up by the Raja at the dictation of the Mahanth, and a copy of the Mahanth's draft agreement previously mentioned with the modifications or additions suggested by yourself. The Raja, who even at this early stage appears to have exaggerated his influence over the Mahanth, informed you that "the Mahanth objected to the amendments made by you in the above agreement;" but it is clear from this remark, and from the fact that the Mahanth had himself drawn up the draft (minus the additions), that the remainder of the agreement represented those conditions which he was prepared to accept. They involved—

(a) Admissions or concessions made by the Government of India, *viz.*—

- (i) declaration as to the Mahanth's ownership ;
- (ii) declaration as to his right to fees.

(b) Admissions or claims made by the Mahanth, *viz.*—

- (i) right of both Hindus and Buddhists to worship in the temple in such a way as not to give offence to the other ;
- (ii) right of Hindus to offer *pindas* under both Bo-trees ;
- (iii) constitution of a special Board to decide disputed questions of ritual, the Board to consist of five persons (four Hindus and a Buddhist) and its decisions to be binding on both parties and also on the Mahanth.

These two sets of conditions (a) and (b) are those which the Mahanth and the Raja, acting on his behalf, at that time accepted. I say nothing for the moment about the other conditions which you desired to insert, but which had not at that stage been accepted.

(6) At this stage the second unfortunate error was committed by bringing Mr. Cotton on to the scene. A conference took place between the Raja, the Mahanth, a vakil of the Mahanth, Mr. Cotton, and Mr. Justice Mitra. By this time the Raja had thrown off all disguise and appeared as the uncompromising champion of the Mahanth. The poor Judge was completely overawed, and was told that the Mahanth and his friends would not have a Board at any cost. On the other hand, "the Mahanth authorized Mr. Cotton and the Raja to say (*i*) that he undertook not to place the *tilak* mark on the image, and (*ii*) that he agreed if any large body of Buddhists so required it to remove the clothing from the image from time to time for the purpose of their worship." These two concessions represent, therefore, a substantial addition to the conditions already agreed to by the Mahanth, as specified in paragraph 5. Mr. Justice Mitra gave a slightly different account of the results of this interview; for in his letter of April 20th he added that "the Mahanth is not unwilling to refer all other questions of disputed ritual to a Committee as suggested, and to abide by the common decision. But a little pressure is needed." If what Mr. Justice Mitra wrote was correct, the Mahanth and his advisers were at this stage still prepared, subject only to a little pressure, to adhere to the proposal for a Board which had figured in the earlier draft of the Mahanth's proposals.

(7) Finally, on May 7th you wrote to me enclosing a letter from the Raja (dated April 29th) in which the Mahanth and Mr. Cotton objected—

- (*i*) to your proposals about not clothing the image;
- (*ii*) to any Board of Trustees;
- (*iii*) to sign the agreement previously drafted by his own pleader and submitted by yourself.

In other words, on this date the negotiations may be said to have completely broken down.

Now we have to decide what to do. You propose to press the Mahanth to write you a letter, stating, as a sort of personal favour, the residuum left over from his various earlier proposals, which he is still prepared to concede; and you say that this seems to you to be all that we can now obtain without having recourse to a suit or to legislation. I should be very sorry if I thought that this was the case. In the first place, any such document would be scarcely worth having, since it would be binding only on the present Mahanth, and would fail to provide any settlement of disputed questions of ritual that may hereafter arise. In the second place, it would register a decisive personal victory for the Mahanth, the Raja, and Mr. Cotton, and a corresponding defeat for the Government of India.

I would propose to deal with the matter in a very different way. A careful perusal of the case as I have presented it (with *verbatim* quotations from the various documents) shows that there are two persons whose conduct has presented itself in a very ambiguous, not to say discreditable, light and whose joint

changes of attitude and breaches of assurance have been largely responsible for the breakdown. These are—(a) the Mahanth ; (b) Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea.

The case against these two principals is as follows :—

[a] (i) The Mahanth deliberately broke his first promise to Mr. Oldham to conclude an agreement on the lines suggested by myself ;

(ii) he similarly broke his second promise to produce a draft to Mr. Oldham recording the terms to which he had agreed ;

(iii) he subsequently broke his promises contained in the draft brought up by the Commissioners ;

(iv) and, finally, he receded from his promise to accept a Board.

[b] (i) The Raja was never invited by me to have anything to do with the case. He introduced himself on to the scene as a sort of *amicus curiae*, claiming an influence which he led you to believe that he would use in the interests of a settlement, but which, in so far it had any existence, he has, on the contrary, employed to break it down ;

(ii) in your interview with him on April 5th he went beyond the proposals of the Mahanth's draft, for he even accepted your supplementary suggestions, and he undertook to procure the assent of the Mahanth to them ;

(iii) he was in any case committed to the proposals summarized in paragraph 5 of this letter, including the constitution of a Board, which he has since repudiated ;

(iv) in his concluding letter to you of April 27th, the Raja has, without the slightest justification, introduced the name of Mr. Dharmapala and the Mahabodhi Society, and has proceeded upon the assumption that the other parties to these negotiations (*i.e.*, other than the Mahanth) are the gentleman and the Society above named. He should know that the other parties are the Government of India, who have had no communication of any sort with Mr. Dharmapala or the Society, and who are acting, not in the interests of an individual or of a body, but as the responsible Government of the country.

From what I have said it will not surprise you to learn that I am not prepared to be treated either by the Mahanth or by the Raja in the way which I have above described. I took up this case in the interests exclusively of a solution honourable to both parties. But I personally refrained from obtruding at any stage the personality or the authority of the Viceroy. My absence from the scene did not, however, entitle the Mahanth to make a series of promises and then one after the other to break them. Such a line of action was not only discreditable

to himself, it was also disrespectful and insulting to me. Neither was the Raja entitled to appear upon the scene, uninvited and behind my back, in order to wreck the scheme which I had entrusted you to carry out, and which he affected to befriend. His conduct has, in my view, been both officious, unfriendly, and most invidious. I am willing that both parties should be acquainted with the general impression produced upon me by their conduct. I will go further and add that (inasmuch as I have no intention of letting the matter drop), should it become necessary, as it probably will at a later date, to make public the various stages of these proceedings, I shall not hesitate to give a succinct account of the proceedings of both these gentlemen—a narrative which it would probably be extremely painful to them to read in a public form.

Nevertheless, I am not anxious to proceed to extremities. I have throughout been working for a settlement by mutual consent. I venture still to regard this as practicable: and I think that it could be arrived at on the following lines. I propose to hold the Mahanth and the Raja firmly to that to which they have already agreed, and from which they cannot, without incurring the charge of *mala fides*, be allowed to depart. The Mahanth should be called upon by you to sign an agreement, and this document should contain all the points to which he and his spokesmen have at different times agreed, *viz.*—

- (i) Admission of claim of both Hindus and Buddhists to worship in the temple in such a way as not to give offence to the other.
- (ii) Right of Hindus to offer *pindas* under both Bo-trees.
- (iii) Undertaking of the Mahanth not to place the *tilak* mark or any paint on the image.
- (iv) Undertaking of the Mahanth to remove the clothing from the image at any time if required by a reasonable section of Buddhist worshippers (the point if disputed to be settled by the Committee).
- (v) Constitution of a Committee for settlement of disputed points of ritual, its decisions to be equally binding upon the Mahanth and upon the other parties.

Here I disagree with the proposals hitherto put forward: and I suggest the following in their places:—

- (a) The Committee to consist of three persons, *viz.*, the Senior Hindu Judge or Magistrate in the station of Gaya, who should be Chairman, a Hindu nominee of the Mahanth, and a resident of Gaya (Hindu or Buddhist) to be nominated by the Local Government. No European will thus be placed upon the Committee: there will be a permanent Hindu majority upon it: there will be no Government interference, since the Chairman will be appointed as a Hindu, and not as an official, his official status merely securing his independence.

- (b) I do not think that this Committee should have any rule-making power.
- (c) I do not think that the Local Government should frame any rules for it.
- (d) The Committee should deal only with each disputed case as it arises, and its ruling should apply only (except under the conditions about to be named) to that case.
- (e) Each ruling of the Committee should be reported by it to the Collector and by him to the Commissioner. If the latter merely registers and takes note of the decision, it will apply to the case and occasion only which has elicited it. If he formally confirms it, it will become a ruling for the decision of similar cases in the future. This provision is introduced in order to secure that the Local Government shall be aware of what is passing, and that the Committee shall not be able to convert *ex parte* or foolish resolutions into a standing rule. There will be no power on the part of the Local Government of interfering with its decision in individual cases. But the confirmation of the Local Government, acting by its representative, will be required before a ruling *ad hoc* is invested with any wider authority or duration.

If the Mahanth signs an agreement on the above lines, I am willing that you should insert in it on behalf of Government the declaration—

- (i) That the Mahanth for the time being is the *ground* landlord of the Mahabodhi Temple and its surroundings, and the *de facto* manager in possession. If the Mahanth objects to the words in italics (though for what reason he should do so I am at a loss to conjecture), I would substitute that the Mahanth is declared *for the purposes of this agreement and without prejudice*, to be the landlord and manager in possession. I would even omit the words in italics altogether, if their retention was likely to defeat the conclusion of the agreement.
- (ii) That he is entitled to all the fees and offerings given at the temple and under both Bo-trees.

If the Mahanth still hesitates to sign this agreement, which, in the face of what I have written, I am most reluctant to anticipate, he should be told (verbally of course) that it will be my duty to recommend to the Government of India the publication of a full statement of the case, and to recommend to the Secretary of State that power be taken by legislation to regulate the worship at the Bodh-Gaya Temple. Government cannot permanently surrender its responsibility for a building which would not exist unless it had been restored at Government expense, or for the proper conduct of worship in what is undoubtedly, and always has been primarily, a Buddhist temple.

But in such a case I need not say that no admission of the rights or claims of the Mahanth is likely to be made. It is for him and his advisers in the circumstances to say whether he prefers to accept the amicable solution that I have offered, or to drive me to take the further steps that I have foreshadowed.

I need hardly add that the less Mr. Cotton is brought into the matter, the better. We cannot prevent the Mahanth from consulting him privately; but you can decline to admit him in any way to your deliberations. Neither does it appear to me that the two Commissioners are any longer required. The fewer persons now admitted to conclave, the better. I would suggest that you send for the Mahanth and speak to him very seriously on the above lines. Further, if you think that a conversation with the Raja is likely to be attended with satisfactory results, I would suggest that you also send for him and speak to him equally seriously as to the views entertained of his participation in the proceedings, and as to the obligation that lies upon him to justify his interference by promoting a successful solution, instead of being responsible for a failure. Perhaps if you saw the two the same day you might clench the matter by getting the agreement signed straight away.

I hope in the above suggestions to have provided you, even at the eleventh hour, with the materials of a friendly settlement.

30. *Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 2nd June 1903. Acknowledges above letter (No. 29).*

I have to acknowledge your letter of the 26th May, communicating your instructions upon the Bodh-Gaya case. It reached me on Sunday afternoon.

I have written to the Mahanth and to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea asking them to come up here and see me as soon as convenient. When they arrive I propose to see them separately, as Your Excellency has suggested, and they may perhaps afterwards agree to a settlement.

I am fully aware of the evil effect which has been produced upon the negotiations by the intervention of Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea and Mr. Cotton—but the latter has been the Mahanth's legal adviser since the time of the criminal case at Gaya in 1895—and the Mahanth takes no step without consulting these two gentlemen. Mr. Cotton, I knew, would be hostile, but I saw no way to prevent the Mahanth from consulting him, while as regards the Raja I felt the same difficulty, and in addition I had some slight hope that he would facilitate the negotiations. I should have known him better.

31. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 10th June 1903. Interview with Mahanth and Raja at Darjeeling falls through.

I have to report to Your Excellency a further stage, though a short one, in the negotiations about the Bodh-Gaya Temple.

On the same day that I last wrote to Your Excellency, *viz.*, the 2nd June, my Private Secretary wrote both to the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya and to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea stating that I wished to see them up here in connection with the Bodh-Gaya case. Each was told that the other had been sent for.

The Raja came up promptly, and arrived in Darjeeling on the 7th, bringing with him a telegram from the Mahanth, dated the 6th, alleging that owing to illness he could not come to Darjeeling. The Raja wrote for an interview, which I declined to give him, quoting his own letter of the 4th, to the effect that it would be useless to discuss the situation in the absence of the Mahanth. It appeared to me quite likely that he had arranged with the Mahanth that the latter should not come up.

The Raja came, however, on the 8th to see Mr. Hammond, and I saw him for two minutes in Mr. Hammond's room, an informal meeting. I told him that all the papers had been laid before Your Excellency, and that you were disappointed and displeased at his attitude and action in the matter; that I expected him to use his influence on our side and to persuade the Mahanth to adopt a reasonable attitude; and that until the Mahanth came up to Darjeeling I declined to discuss the matter at all. He professed himself much disconcerted at the intimation of Your Excellency's displeasure, and fervently avowed his loyalty and desire for a satisfactory settlement. To show his sincerity he at once sent off a telegram to the Mahanth insisting on his at once coming to Darjeeling.

Yesterday (9th) the Raja came again to see me with a telegram from the Mahanth—"Hope to be all right within fortnight: then come up." I again declined to see the Raja on the ground that any conversation on the subject of the Bodh-Gaya case would be futile in the absence of the Mahanth, who alone has any power to settle the matter. The Raja goes down to-day, and has promised to send a man to the Mahanth to insist on his accompanying him back to Darjeeling as soon as possible.

The Raja himself openly says that the plea of illness is a mere excuse. He also asserts that the Mahanth is more obstinate even than Mr. Cotton, without whom, he adds, he will do nothing.

There the matter stands for the present. The Raja thoroughly understands that Your Excellency is displeased with him, and is, I think, prepared to do something to regain your good opinion—but he has always at hand the plea of the Mahanth's obstinacy, and how far his present avowal of good resolutions will carry him remains to be seen.

I will report further proceedings as soon as there is anything to report.

**32. Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 15th June 1903.
Necessity for firmness in the Bodh-Gaya case.**

I am much obliged for your letter of June 10th, reporting the first stages of your action about the Bodh-Gaya case. I hope you will be very firm about the matter. I have every reason to be indignant at the evasive, underhand, and almost disloyal manner in which some of the principals have behaved: and, should the occasion arise, I shall not hesitate to depict their conduct in the colours that it deserves. More especially do I not intend to be defeated by the Mahanth and his legal adviser.

33. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 20th June 1903. Pending interview with Mahanth. Commissioners' report. Agreement. Mr. Cotton.

I have to report for Your Excellency's information what has occurred in connection with the Bodh-Gaya matter since my letter of the 10th instant was written.

2. Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea left Darjeeling for Uttarpara on the 10th, as I said in my letter he intended to do, but before leaving he forwarded to my Private Secretary a letter from the Mahanth, dated the 5th instant, explaining that he was really ill and confined to his bed. The Raja promised to send a trustworthy man to ascertain whether the illness was real or not, and on the 15th he telegraphed to Mr. Hammond to say that his emissary had returned from Bodh-Gaya, and that the Mahanth was actually ill and would be unable to move before July.

3. As will be shown below, Mr. Cotton will also be in Darjeeling about the 3rd July, and I take it that by the first week of next month the Mahanth will have so far recovered that he and Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea also will be able to come here. I shall then be able to place before the Mahanth the final offer of Government in respect of the Bodh-Gaya Temple.

4. In the next place, I have to report that on Thursday, the 18th, Pundit Hara Prashad Shastri brought to me the Report of the Commissioners, who were sent to Bodh-Gaya to enquire into the matter in March last. He apologized for the delay in submitting the Report, which he said was due to the lengthy

researches they had made into the history of the temple, and the question of ritual, also to the fact that they had had the Report printed at a private press which

* Not printed.

Report printed at a private press which had been extremely dilatory. Two copies of this Report* go by to-day's post to

Your Excellency; the original and several spare copies are with me.

5. The Report is painstaking, learned, and complete. It comprises (1) an enquiry into the position and claims of the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya ; (2) an examination into the history of Hindu worship there ; (3) an account of the actual condition of affairs at Bodh-Gaya ; and (4) a summary of the conclusions arrived at by the Commissioners. It contains several Appendices, of which the most important are (A), which describes the proceedings of the Commissioners at Gaya, and (G), (H), and (I), which are copies of the draft agreements proposed, respectively, by Mr. Oldham, the Commissioners, and the Mahanth.

6. The whole Report is worth reading, but for our purposes the most practical part is that comprised in pages 15 to 19, in which the Commission describe their proceedings at Gaya, make recommendations for action, and state their conclusions. These have already been communicated to Your Excellency with my letter of the 14th April and need not be repeated here.

7. With regard, however, to all that has taken place since the Commissioners were at Gaya, page 15 of the Report is important. It is there stated definitely that after the Mahanth had refused to accept the agreement propounded by Mr. Oldham, and that offered as an alternative by the Commission, he put one forward himself which, in the presence of Mr. Oldham and the Commission, he said he was prepared to abide by. As already noted above, the terms of those three agreements will be found in Appendices (G), (H), and (I). It will be seen that, in return for certain declarations which we are willing to make in his favour, the Mahanth was ready to agree in general terms to both Buddhists and Hindus worshipping together in such a manner as not to give offence to each other, and to the appointment of a Board of five persons to decide all questions arising between the parties, their duties to be regulated by rules to be framed by Mr. Justice Mitra in consultation with the Mahanth. Later, at a conference held at the house of Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, on the 19th April, the Mahanth agreed, as reported by both the Raja and Mr. Justice Mitra, to abstain from placing the *tilak* mark on the image, and to divest it of clothing when required to do so by any considerable body of Buddhists. Later still, however, he sent an intimation through the Raja in the latter's letter of the 27th April that he withdrew his concessions about the *tilak* and the clothing and the Committee, and would sign no agreement.

8. Your Excellency has now desired me to see the Mahanth, and after placing before him an agreement containing all that he has promised at different times, press him to sign it. As there is a manifest advantage in settling beforehand the exact terms which I am to offer him, I append a copy of a draft agreement

which, to the best of my belief, carries out Your Excellency's wishes, and I shall be glad to know whether it has your approval.

9. There remains one more matter to be brought to Your Excellency's notice, and that is the connection of Mr. Cotton with this final offer to be made to the Mahanth. On the 15th instant I received a letter from Mr. Cotton, stating that he would be in Darjeeling on the 3rd July in connection with a Civil appeal, and asking me, at the request of the Mahanth, to see him together with the latter : he wrote—"In any case he would not be able to give you a final answer to any proposition you might make to him until he had consulted me : and my presence will, he thinks, facilitate matters." In accordance with Your Excellency's wishes that Mr. Cotton should be kept out of the matter, I wrote to him in reply that I saw no advantage in granting his request inasmuch as what I had to say to the Mahanth was a simple matter which did not require the intervention of Counsel. However, since I commenced this letter to Your Excellency, I have received from Mr. Cotton a reply, of which a copy is appended. It places clearly before us the attitude which the Mahanth, under the advice of Mr. Cotton, is likely to take up, and it confirms incidentally the information given me by the pundit that the Mahanth is willing himself to give way to our demands, but that he is afraid of his disciples. It will be seen from page IV of the Commissioners' Report that the Mahanth from the first pleaded that he was only a life-tenant, and could not bind his successors. The Commissioners do not notice the point. It will probably be enough for us if the present Mahanth agrees to what is proposed, for, if he does so, I have little doubt that his successors will accept the situation as they find it.

10. The point, however, on which I desire an expression of Your Excellency's wishes is whether or not Mr. Cotton shall be admitted to my interview with the Mahanth. Your Excellency expressed a strong opinion that the less Mr. Cotton comes into the business, the better ; but it is for consideration whether his presence would not have the effect of bringing the matter to an end more quickly, one way or the other. If I see the Mahanth alone, I shall of course impress upon him as clearly as possible the considerations stated in Your Excellency's last letter, but he may not understand them all, though he will carry away with him the draft agreement which I propose to hand him. If I see him in company with Mr. Cotton and Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, I shall be able to make the trio thoroughly understand what the position of Government is. In that case, shall I definitely inform them what will follow upon the Mahanth's refusal to sign the agreement, as stated in Your Excellency's letter of the 26th May ? There is a good deal to be said in favour of either course, and I solicit Your Excellency's instructions in the matter.

11. Your Excellency will notice that the Dharmapala bogey again appears in Mr. Cotton's letter, and I will take care that he is finally laid.

Enclosures of No. 33 :

- (1) *Proposed agreement between the Government of Bengal and the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya with regard to the conduct of worship at the Bodh-Gaya Temple.*

The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya agrees to the following terms :—

1. Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great temple but the worship of one community shall be conducted in such a way as not to offend the other: in particular the *tilak* mark shall not be placed upon the image, nor shall it be painted, and clothing shall be removed from the image if at any time this shall be required by considerable section of Buddhist worshippers.

2. The Hindus are entitled to offer *pindas* under the Mahabodhi tree adjoining the west of the temple, as well as under that to the north of it, but in so doing and in worshipping the trees, nothing shall be done to offend the Buddhists.

3. In order that the above terms may be carried out to the satisfaction of all parties, and to settle all points of dispute, there shall be a Committee consisting of three persons, *viz.*, the Senior Hindu Judge or Magistrate in Gaya, who shall be the Chairman, a Hindu nominee of the Mahanth, and a resident of Gaya (Hindu or Buddhist) to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor.

4. This Committee shall deal only with each disputed case as it arises, and (save as below) its ruling shall apply only to that case. Each ruling of the Committee shall be reported by it to the Commissioner of the Division through the Collector. If the latter registers and takes note of the decision, it will apply only to the case and occasion which has elicited it. If the Commissioner formally confirms the decision, it will become a ruling for the decision of similar cases in future.

On the other hand, the Bengal Government agrees—

5. That for the purposes of this agreement and without prejudice, the Mahanth for the time being is declared to be the landlord of the Mahabodhi Temple and its surroundings, and to be the manager in possession.

6. That he is declared to be entitled to all the fees and offerings given at the temple, and under both Bodhi trees.

- (2) *Letter from H. E. A. Cotton, Esq., to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 17th June 1903, regarding Mahanth.*

I am sorry I did not make myself clear to you in my letter of Sunday last regarding the Mahanth. I am taking no fee in the matter, and am not acting professionally any more than Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea is. The Mahanth and I have been friends ever since I appeared on behalf of his men in the criminal proceedings at Gaya in which Dharmapala cut so dubious a figure. He desires permission to bring me with him as he is under the impression (perhaps wrongly) that his position has not been made clear to you: and he knows that I am well

acquainted with the facts, and can help him to put you in possession of them far better than he can alone : for he is not a particularly clever man, and, like all natives, will lose his head in presence of high authority such as you represent. It was because I knew very well you did not dream of taking any advantage of him that I made the request. Apparently if I were not a barrister, you would raise no difficulty : but I hope that the explanation I now give may be sufficient. Having spoken thus far freely, and I hope without giving any offence—for none whatever is intended—I venture to add one word more. It is true that although I advise the Mahanth not to agree to the formation of a Temple Committee as likely to produce endless attempts on the part of Dharmapala to create evidence in his favour, I recommended him to undertake not to put the *tilak* mark on the image. But when I did so, I did not realize, and I venture to submit that you do not also quite realize, that the Mahanth is not in a position to give any such undertaking. In this case the Mahanth's brother Sanyasis have raised the strongest objections, and they have certainly satisfied me from texts that the placing of the *tilak* mark is an essential part of the worship. The fact is that the Mahanth would render himself liable to dismissal from his office if he were to act contrary to the wishes of his brother Sanyasis : and there was no alternative for him but to yield.

May I say one word in conclusion ? When Sir Edwin Arnold agitated on the previous occasion, his *protégé* Dharmapala had not taken any really active steps in the propaganda whose assured object is to turn the Mahanth out. Nevertheless, Lord Lansdowne refused to assist him, on the principle, no doubt, that the British Government does not interfere in matters of religion in India, and I venture to submit he was right. It has now, I understand, been made clear (*vide* the proceedings in the Bodh-Gaya Temple Case) that the temple is the private property of the Mahanth. Why should he therefore agree to the abrogation of his proprietary rights in any shape or form : specially when the person to whom he is asked to make the concession is this very Dharmapala who admittedly represents an infinitesimal section of the Buddhist community ? I am personally very sorry Lord Curzon is moving in this matter : for the Hindu community are becoming deeply stirred over it.

Please excuse this long letter. But I feel strongly on the question : and as a friend and adviser of the Mahanth think it my duty to speak frankly and openly.

34. Telegram from the Private Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 27th June 1903. Asks for a copy of Mr. Oldham's report.

Lieutenant-Governor's confidential file about Gaya does not contain a copy of Mr. Oldham's report on the negotiations with Mahanth. May His Honour have a copy ?

[Copy of report sent to Mr. Hammond with a note from Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated 29th June 1903.]

35. *Telegram from Private Secretary to Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 27th June 1903. Solicits orders before 2nd July 1903, when Mahanth comes.*

Mahanth Bodh-Gaya will arrive at Darjeeling 2nd July. Lieutenant-Governor will be greatly obliged if His Excellency can issue instructions before that date.

36. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 27th June 1903. Commissioners' report. Draft agreement. Legislation. Mr. Cotton.*

I send you—

- (1) the latest letter from Mr. Bourdillon about the Bodh-Gaya case ;
- (2) the report of the two Commissioners (a most satisfactory document) ;
- (3) the file of the case—the last entry in which is my letter of May 26th to which Mr. Bourdillon's present letter is a reply.

I have since heard by telegram from Mr. Bourdillon that he solicits instructions before July 2nd, on which day the Mahanth is to come and see him at Darjeeling.

The points at issue and upon which I shall be extremely obliged for your advice are :—

- (1) Is Mr. Bourdillon's draft agreement all right ? I think it is—barring a doubt about the word 'considerable' : I had said 'reasonable' in my letter.
 - (2) Should the Mahanth and the Raja be told definitely of our proposal to recommend legislation if they refuse to sign ? I should say most certainly.
 - (3) Should Mr. Cotton be allowed to be present ? I dislike the man so intensely, and I know him to be so bitter an enemy of mine, that I am convinced he will try to ruin a settlement in any case : and would prefer to exclude him from all part in the negotiations. Indeed I do not see what possible claim he has to be admitted to conference. On the other hand, it may be thought politic to let him come in. But if so, it should be under the seal of the strictest confidence, *i. e.*, he should promise before the conversation takes place neither to reveal nor to write anything in the press or elsewhere about the matter. What do you say ? This might be a good price to exact for the concession.
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Enclosures of No. 36 :

- (1) Letter (No. 33) from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, to Viceroy, dated 20th June 1903, about Bodh-Gaya case.
 - (2) Report and proceedings of a Commission to Bodh-Gaya (not printed).
 - (3) File about Bodh-Gaya shrine.
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37. Letter from Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 28th June 1903. Reply to letter No. 36.

I return Mr. Bourdillon's letter ; and also Your Excellency's, in case you should not have kept a copy.

I agree that the Commissioners' report is very satisfactory. But it discloses one fact in favour of the Mahanth ; though its importance has not been appreciated. It appears (Appendix C) that the village in which the shrine is situated was granted in *madad másh*. Now the Commissioners are wrong in interpreting this (page 2 of the report) as "revenue-free in perpetuity for religious purposes." There is no religious connotation whatever. As Your Excellency knows, *madad másh* simply means "in aid of livelihood ;" and a *madad másh* grant is a well-recognized form which is purely personal to the grantee. In a case like the present, the usual form of grant is to the manager of the institution (shrine, monastery, etc.), but either for its support, or for so long as the institution is maintained. Under that form, a trust is created, and the manager is simply a Trustee. A *madad másh* grant creates no trust ; and though, in this particular grant, the words, "for his own livelihood and that of the *itinerant fagirs*" may be held to imply a trust, yet it is in no way connected with the shrine.

However, the point is not of great practical importance, as we do not (and in my opinion, cannot) dispute the Mahanth's position.

I think that Mr. Bourdillon's draft agreement will do very well ; except that I would certainly substitute "reasonable number" for "considerable section" in clause (1). Perhaps it might be suggested to Mr. Bourdillon that if (as is probable) the first ten words of clause (5) are objected to, Mr. Cotton has supplied us with the answer. He doubts whether the Mahanth's successors will be bound by the agreement. If that doubt exists, it is clearly out of the question for us to make an admission, as one of the terms of the bargain, without limiting its operation to so long as the agreement is in force.

I would certainly tell the Mahanth what we propose to do if he will not sign the agreement. It is no threat. It is simply a statement of our intention.

The question about Mr. Cotton is a *very* difficult one. I would not trust his promise of secrecy for a moment, and I am not sure that it would be wise to demand it.

He would go about saying that he had been bound to secrecy, and thereby implying that we had something to be ashamed of.

We could hardly be charged with denying the Mahanth proper advice if we excluded Mr. Cotton ; since we are springing nothing new upon him, but simply asking for what he has already agreed to, and what he has already discussed fully with his advisers.

On the other hand, if he really will agree to *nothing* without consulting Mr. Cotton, he will take the draft agreement away, and will come back (probably) with a stubborn refusal to sign which will listen to no argument, being Mr. Cotton's opinion rather than his own.

I should be inclined to tell Mr. Bourdillon that Your Excellency did not wish to fetter his discretion in the conduct of the negotiations, and that you would leave the point to him ; but that you would suggest that Mr. Cotton should be allowed to accompany the Mahanth, but *not* admitted to the interview with the Lieutenant-Governor, with which he has no concern ; but that the Mahanth should be allowed to take the draft agreement into another room, and then consult Mr. Cotton upon it, if he wishes to, before giving his final answer. And I should be inclined to reserve the statement of our intention to legislate until after he had consulted Mr. Cotton.

38. Telegram from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 28th June 1903. Mahanth unable to go to Darjeeling.

Mahanth Bodh-Gaya telegraphs that Civil Surgeon forbids his going Darjeeling. I can see him on tour. Meantime I have declined discussion with Mr. Cotton, who is here.

39. Letter from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 3rd July 1903. Commissioners' report. Draft agreement. Mr. Cotton.

Your telegram of 29th saying that the Mahanth was not coming to Darjeeling dispensed me from answering your letter of June 20th as quickly as I might otherwise have done. I will now reply to the questions contained in it.

The Commissioners have presented us with a very learned, exhaustive, and valuable report : and we are greatly indebted to them for their labours. You will no doubt convey your acknowledgments to them in suitable form. They have made one mistake. In Appendix C the actual terms of the Sanad of Mohammed Shah are given : and it is there said that the grant was made as *madad másh*

without any qualification. Nevertheless, on page 2 of the report the Commissioners have said that "the villages were granted as *madad másh*, i.e., revenue-free in perpetuity *for religious purposes*." The latter is an interpolation. It does not occur in the Sanad : where there is no religious connotation attached to the phrase. A *madad másh* grant is purely personal to the grantee. It creates no trust : and though in this case the words "for his own livelihood and *that of the itinerant fakirs*" may be held to imply a trust, yet it is in no way connected with the shrine.

I quite approve of the draft agreement as drawn up by you with one exception. In clause 1, "a reasonable number" should be substituted for "a considerable section." Under existing conditions a "considerable section" of Buddhist worshippers is never likely to be present at the same time at Bodh-Gaya.

If, as is not improbable, the Mahanth or Mr. Cotton objects to the first ten words of clause 5, it may be well to point out that the latter has supplied us with the answer. He doubts whether the Mahanth's successors will be bound by the agreement. If that doubt exists, it is clearly out of the question for us to make an admission, as one of the terms of the bargain, without limiting its operation to so long as the agreement is in force.

I would certainly tell the Mahanth and the Raja what we propose to do if he will not sign the agreement. It is not a threat. It is simply a statement of our intention. My hope is that you will induce him to sign the agreement in your presence without any further reference or delay.

As regards the presence of Mr. Cotton at the interview, had the question arisen, I should have left the matter to your discretion. Perhaps Cotton might have been allowed to accompany the Mahanth and to wait in another room. I do not think he should have been present at your interview with the Mahanth, in which he would have had no *locus standi* or concern. Had the Mahanth, after hearing what you had to say, wished to consult Mr. Cotton, he might then have gone in and done so before giving his final reply.

Wishing you every success in your interview, whenever it takes place, and with many thanks for your valuable co-operation.

It would be well to disabuse the Mahanth and his advisers of the absurd Dharmapala idea. I have held no communication with him.

40. *Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 7th July 1903. Supplement to Commissioners' report. Meeting with Mahanth.*

In continuation of my letter of the 20th June, I have now to forward to Your Excellency a supplement to the report of the Commissioners who went to Bodh-Gaya, which I have received within the last few days.

It deals with the Mahanth's plea that he has only a life interest in the *math*, and that any agreement which he might make would not be binding on his successor. Your Excellency will see that the Commissioners are of opinion that there is no force in this contention, and, as one of them is a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, this opinion is of some value.

I have already informed Your Excellency by telegram, on the 28th June, that the Mahanth is unable to come to Darjeeling at present from illness. I shall be at Bankipore on tour towards the end of this month, and have desired the Mahanth to meet me there on the 23rd instant. Unless I hear from Your Excellency to the contrary, I shall then put before him the draft agreement which I forwarded to you with my letter of the 20th June, and shall press him to accept it in accordance with the instructions in Your Excellency's letter of the 26th May 1903.

Enclosure of No. 40 :

Supplement to report of Bodh-Gaya Commission.

We are also of opinion that the Mahanth is quite competent to agree to the arrangement proposed by us, and that his successors will be bound by his agreement. He is, no doubt, a Trustee, but he may do any act which is necessary or beneficial in the same manner and to the same degree as would be allowable in the case of the Manager of an infant heir. He may alienate endowed property held by him as a Trustee in cases of necessity, and may create derivative tenures and estates conformable to usage. The touch-stone of an act by a *Savaet* like a Mahanth, is the necessity of the endowment and the benefit to it.

2. The arrangement we have proposed does not come under the head of alienation. The trust does not lose anything by it either at present or in the future. The privileges of the successive Mahanths and the income derivable from the worship, if we may use the expression, is not attempted to be touched. The rights of the Hindu community remain intact. The Mahanth, by agreeing to the arrangement, agrees for the benefit of the endowment, to a mode of management clearly beneficial to the endowment itself. The fact that the Government is a party to it raises a presumption as to its fairness.

3. The arrangement proposed by us is also a compromise of doubtful claims. The title and possession of the Mahanth is denied by the Buddhist community and there can be no doubt that the Buddhists have, as we have shown, an apparent claim.

4. Their claim to possession by ousting the Mahanth of the Mahabodhi Temple and the Bodhi-Druma is by the compromise given up by the Government on their behalf. The emoluments go to the Mahanth, the Buddhists get only an unrestricted right of worship according to their own modes—a right which in fact is not denied. Such a beneficial arrangement is obviously binding on the trust.

5. The management of the worship in the temple and the Bodhi-tree is being entrusted under the proposed arrangement to amongst others a number of very respectable Govern-

ment officials, and the Mahanth's successor cannot possibly find fault with the selection. It is certainly the best safeguard against all future disputes and beneficial in every way to the trust.

41. Letter (Extract) from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 18th July 1903. Mahanth ill : avoids interview.

I proceed on tour to-morrow evening, but there are one or two small matters that I wish to bring to Your Excellency's notice before I start.

In my last letter I stated that I had desired the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya to meet me at Bankipore on the 23rd : he has replied that his malady has increased, that the Civil Surgeon has ordered him to seek a dry climate : he wrote from a place between Gaya and Hazaribagh, and said he was proceeding to the latter place. I have caused a letter to be sent to him to say that I shall be much disappointed if he does not come to Bankipore—and that I look to him to do his best to keep the appointment.

I do not expect to see him at Bankipore ; and if he does not come, the alternative seems to lie between (1) writing to him and stating what I require of him, without putting on paper what will follow if he refuses to sign an agreement, and (2) speaking to one of his friends, Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, perhaps, and telling him in full what the consequences of recusancy will be. It is difficult to force him to appear when he is equipped with a medical certificate, and I am not prepared to go in pursuit of him. I should like to have Your Excellency's views on this new development.

42. Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 23rd July 1903. Suggests further steps.

The Mahanth is a difficult customer to know how to handle. For he has now retired into his cave. If he declines to come out, and flourishes a medical certificate from the mouth of his lair, I agree that we shall have to tackle him. If you can rely upon Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea (after duly frightening him as to the part which he has hitherto played) both to convey your message faithfully, to interpret it with loyalty, and to use his influence with the Mahanth to induce him to accept the agreement—then I am quite willing that he should be your intermediary. If you are not satisfied about these conditions, I can suggest nothing better than that you should charge Mr. Hammond with your message.

I think it would be as well to put nothing on paper just at present, for with Surendra Nath Banerjea on the war path, we may expect anything, particularly if documents are placed at his disposal.

43. *Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 11th August 1903. Sends a letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, and from Mr. Cotton to Mahanth; new draft agreement.*

I have to report to Your Excellency the further progress which has been made in the Bodh-Gaya case.

2. In my last letter from Calcutta, dated the 18th July last, I said that I had asked the Mahanth to meet me at Bankipore, but I expressed the opinion that he would not come. My expectations were fulfilled, for on the 23rd, the day on which he was to have come to Bankipore, I received a letter from his lieutenant at Bodh-Gaya saying that the Mahanth was at Barigada in the Hazaribagh District, and forwarding a letter from the Mahanth himself in which he said that he was too ill to move. I referred to the Civil Surgeon of Gaya, who replied that so far as he knew the Mahanth was really ill.

3. On the 27th July, while still on tour, I received Your Excellency's letter of the 23rd, and in accordance with the suggestion made in that letter, I decided to entrust our message to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, and I sent him notice that I wished to see him at Belvedere on my return.

4. He came accordingly on Sunday, the 2nd August, and I explained the position in full to him, and warned him gravely that Government were weary of these negotiations, and that they must be brought to a conclusion, if not voluntarily, then by the action of Government. I said that I expected him to undertake the rôle of ambassador, telling him plainly that the best way for him to regain his position in Your Excellency's opinion and mine was to accept this mission and carry it through to a successful issue. He promised to do so, and I sent him the same day a type-written copy of the proposed agreement which formed an enclosure to my letter to Your Excellency of the 20th June, modified in accordance with Your Excellency's instructions of the 3rd July.

5. The Raja then telegraphed to the Mahanth to ask when he would be back at Bodh-Gaya : he received an unsatisfactory answer from one of his disciples, and therefore himself started for Bodh-Gaya on the night of the 7th August. The Raja returned from Gaya yesterday without having seen the Mahanth, and at once reported the result of his visit in the letter, a copy of which is appended below, and which I will ask Your Excellency to read.

6. It will be seen that the letter contains two enclosures, one a copy of a letter from Mr. Cotton to the Mahanth, and the other a copy of the draft agreement which I handed to the Raja, modified by Mr. Cotton and by the Mahanth's disciples at Gaya.

7. Turning first to the letter it will be seen that the Mahanth's disciples are more obstructive than the Mahanth himself, and that they have put forward a series of grievances which are the merest excuses, and are only designed to trail a red herring across the sea. As regards the first, the rest-house was, I believe, built at the expense of the King of Burma, and the allegation that the Buddhist monks at Bodh-Gaya intercept the offerings of the Buddhist pilgrims is new, and I believe wholly false. As to the second allegation, it is true that the Gaya District Board have built a rest-house at Bodh-Gaya for Buddhists, and have received from Buddhists contributions towards it, which were wholly unconditional. With regard to the last allegation the retention of the Japanese image in the rest-house was definitely sanctioned by the Bengal Government, and it is in no sense a rival to the great image in the basement of the temple. However in any case, the demands which are formulated in paragraph 4 of the Raja's letter are out of the question, and need not be further discussed.

8. From Mr. Cotton's letter it will be seen that he counsels compliance on the part of the Mahanth, provided that certain modifications are made in the draft agreement, and this brings me to the modified agreement itself.

9. Your Excellency will notice that Mr. Cotton's modifications are within brackets, and that those suggested by the disciples are underlined. I will deal with them in detail. (Paragraph 1.) The suggestion that the *tilak* mark shall be removed when required cannot be accepted ; the presence of the *tilak* is offensive to all Buddhists, while it is essential to the Hindu worship. Our point is that this is really a Buddhist image in a Buddhist shrine, and that Buddhists shall not be offended there : to allow the *tilak* mark to remain at all gives up the whole case. (Paragraph 2.) The amendment may perhaps be accepted ; it is not likely that the Buddhists will do anything to offend the Hindus, and the completion of the stipulation bears the appearance of fairness. (Paragraph 3.) I would accept Mr. Cotton's addition, but not that of the disciples to omit the words "or Magistrate." (Paragraph 4.) Here also Mr. Cotton's addition may be accepted : it only amplifies our meaning, and introduces no new principle. (Paragraph 5.) I think that these alterations and additions must be rejected. The wording of my draft agreement must stand. (Paragraph 6.) Mr. Cotton's addition would apparently deprive the Buddhist monks of all offerings made at the rest-house, or to the Japanese image, and it should either be rejected or else accepted with the reservation that the Mahanth is not entitled to any offerings made at the rest-house.

10. Subject to any orders that Your Excellency may wish to give, I propose to reply to the Raja in terms of the above remarks, sending him a fresh draft

agreement with an intimation that this is my last word on the subject, and that I require from the Mahanth an intimation by the 10th September whether he will accept the agreement or not. As time presses I would ask that Your Excellency's wishes may be communicated by telegram.

Enclosures of No. 43:

- (1) *Letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, to E. L. L. Hammond, Esq., dated 10th August 1903, regarding Mahanth.*

I have just returned from Gaya without having seen the Mahanth. There having been heavy rainfall in the district of Gaya since Wednesday last, the journey to Barigada has become impracticable, except by foot. With all our efforts, neither the Mahanth's men nor I could get any sort of conveyance going to Barigada, but they have sent a man to the Mahanth asking him to come back to Gaya at once. They think that it would take him three or four days to do so. On his return after his men have told him all I have told them, he will send his law agent to me by Friday, 14th next, to communicate to me the decision he comes to, and also his wishes as to whether I should go to Gaya to meet him.

2. Before leaving home I discussed the matter fully with Mr. Cotton, and got him to write a letter to the Mahanth, a copy of which I enclose; I also wrote a letter from Gaya to the Mahanth earnestly advising him to come to terms. Mr. Cotton has made certain suggestions for slightly modifying His Honour's draft agreement. The suggestions are within brackets in accompanying copy. Both at Gaya, and at Bodh-Gaya, where I went to see the Mahanth's brother and other advisers, I discussed the situation fully with them. I have every hope that now that his legal adviser, Mr. Cotton, has come round to my way of thinking, they would readily advise the Mahanth to sign the agreement. Two of his English-knowing friends suggested three alterations in the draft which are given in pencil.

3. When the Mahanth was here, I found him more accommodating than the advisers I have lately met. They seem to be much aggrieved at the treatment they have met with from public officers. Their grievances are:—

(1) For the convenience and accommodation of Buddhist pilgrims the Mahanth built a rest-house some years ago. Mr. Macpherson, when Collector of the District, took the key of the house and gave it to Mr. Dharmapala. The latter had kept two of his agents there who played the rôle of the rival Mahanth. They are not pilgrims, and they never worship the image in the temple. They capture all the Buddhist pilgrims who come to Bodh-Gaya, don't allow them to see the Mahanth, or give him any *pronam* or any offerings to the image, appropriate all the money and things themselves. The Buddhist pilgrims are a source of handsome income to the Mahanth, but for the last two years he has received nothing from them.

(2) There was no necessity for a new rest-house, but the District Board, having resolved to build one, have accepted Rs. 13,000 from Mr. Dharmapala to meet the cost of the building, although the Mahanth offered, and is still willing to pay, such cost. The Board's action would give Mr. Dharmapala some sort of title to the house.

(3) Mr. Dharmapala had no right to place a Japanese image in the rest-house, and although he was ordered to remove it, the image is still there. The image is evidently intended to serve the purposes of a rival image.

4. Mahanth's uncle and advisers did not give me a definite answer, but it seemed to me that if these grievances could be removed, that is, if the rest-houses be placed in the absolute control of the Mahanth, if the Rs. 13,000 be returned to Mr. Dharmapala and the cost of the new rest-house be taken from the Mahanth, and if the Japanese image be removed from Bodh-Gaya, the fraternity might advise the Mahanth to sign the agreement. As at present situated, their attitude is one of aggrieved despair. They say that Government has vouchsafed (? espoused) the cause of Mr. Dharmapala, who is an avowed enemy of the Mahanth, although the latter has always tried to deserve well of the Government and done nothing to forfeit their favour, and that if Government decide on taking away the control of the shrine and place it in a Committee, they will be helpless.

(2) *Letter from H. E. A. Cotton, Esq., to Mahanth Krishna Dayal Gir, dated 6th August 1903.
Future management of Bodh-Gaya Temple.*

I had intended to come up to Gaya with Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea to see you, but I was suddenly called away to Barisal in a case. I, therefore, write to say that, after careful consideration of the whole question, I think that you will be wise if you settle matters between yourself and Government, regarding the future management of the temple on the basis contained in the draft conditions which the Raja Saheb brings you, and which I have carefully revised. So long as it is definitely understood and laid down that the proposed Board shall have no right to interfere with your rights, and that its function is to decide disputes between worshippers at the temple, and nothing more, there can, I think, be little objection to allowing it to be formed ; and I have inserted a proviso that no one shall sit on it who is a member of any association with interests avowedly hostile to your own. With regard to the *tilak* and the clothes, you must bear in mind that the image is worshipped both by Hindus and Buddhists : and that being so, it is only right and proper to allow the Buddhists to worship it in their own way. I have given this matter a good deal of care, and I have come to the conclusion that your interests will not be prejudiced in any way by your accepting the conditions as now framed and revised by me. That being so, and the terms being reasonable, it will be unwise of you to persist in refusing to come to any arrangement.

(3) *Proposed agreement between Government of Bengal and Mahanth.*

The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya agrees to the following terms :—

1. Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great temple, but the worship by one community shall be conducted in such a way as not to offend the other ; in

particular [if at any time it shall be so required by any reasonable number of Buddhist worshippers] the *tilak* mark shall not be placed upon the image, nor shall it be painted, (and)* [nor] clothing (shall be removed from)* [placed upon] the image (if at any time this shall be required by a reasonable number of Buddhist worshippers)* for the time being.

2. The Hindus are entitled to offer *pindas* under the Mahabodhi tree adjoining the west of the temple, as well as under that to the north of it, but, in doing so and in worshipping the trees nothing shall be done to offend the Buddhists. The Buddhists too in worshipping the image shall do nothing to offend the religious feelings of the Hindus.

3. In order that the above terms may be carried out to the satisfaction of all parties, and to settle all points of dispute (between worshippers at the temple and under the Bodhi tree) there shall be a Committee consisting of three persons, *viz.*, the Senior Hindu Judge or Magistrate in Gaya who shall be the Chairman, Hindu nominee of the Mahanth, and a resident of Gaya (Hindu or Buddhist) to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor. [The last named not to be a member of any association with interests avowedly hostile to those of the Mahanth.]

4. This Committee shall [have no jurisdiction to deal with any question affecting the rights of the Mahanth over the temple and its precincts and shall] deal only with each disputed case as it arises, and save as below its ruling shall apply only to that case. Each ruling of the Committee shall be reported by it through the Collector to the Commissioner. If the latter registers and takes note of the decision, it shall apply only to the case and decision which has elicited it. If the Commissioner formally confirms the decision, it will become a ruling for the decision of similar cases in the future.

On the other hand, if these terms are accepted by the Mahanth, the Bengal Government agrees :—

5. That (for the purposes of this agreement and without prejudice)* the Mahanth for the time being is [without prejudice] declared to be the (landlord)* owner of the Mahabodhi Temple and its surroundings, and the manager in possession.

6. That he is entitled to receive all the fees and offerings at the temple [and within its precincts] and under both Bodhi trees.

Note.—The words and sentences underlined are alterations suggested by followers of Mahanth.

Portions within brackets [] are alterations suggested by Mr. Cotton.

Parentheses with asterisks ()* indicate omissions suggested by Mr. Cotton.

44. *Telegram from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 15th August 1903. Viceroy's remarks on new draft agreement.*

The Viceroy's remarks on the latest draft agreement are as follows :—

Para. 1.—He agrees with you.

Para. 2.—Amendment of disciplines may be accepted.

Para. 3.—Cotton's first amendment cannot be accepted, because it would confine action of Committee to disputes between worshippers, whereas they are more likely to occur between worshippers and Mahanth.

Disciples' amendment must be rejected.

Cotton's second amendment implies distrust of Lieutenant-Governor, and might give rise to future disputes. It cannot be accepted.

Para. 4.—Cotton's amendment may be accepted.

Paras. 5 and 6.—No alteration can be admitted. Viceroy agrees with your remaining proposals.

45. *Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 27th August 1903. Encloses copy of a letter to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea. Time given to Mahanth to sign.*

I have to report further progress in the case of the Bodh-Gaya Temple.

On the 16th August I received a letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea to say that the "principal men" of the Bodh-Gaya *math* had started on the previous day to Barigada, where the Mahanth is to confer with him on the proposed agreement. On the 17th I received from Sir Walter Lawrence a cypher telegram conveying Your Excellency's instructions on my letter of the 11th instant.

I waited a few days to see what the Mahanth's next move would be, and on the 24th I sent a telegram to the Raja to ask whether he had any news: he replied on the 25th that the Mahanth and party had not yet returned to Gaya, but were expected daily.

It seems to me that there is no reason for further delay, and I have therefore sent to the Raja a letter of which I now enclose a copy for Your Excellency's information.

I have allowed the Mahanth about a fortnight to sign the agreement, and will report the result after the 12th September. The Mahanth cannot say that he has been treated with too little consideration.

Enclosures of No. 45:

- (1) *Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, dated 26th August 1903. Signing of agreement.*

I have received your letter of the 10th instant from Uttarpara with its enclosures, consisting of a copy of a letter from Mr. Cotton to the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya (dated the 6th August), and a copy of the proposed agreement between the Bengal Government and the

Mahanth, as amended by Mr. Cotton and the Mahanth's disciples, and framed in the shape which they think it should take.

2. I have also to acknowledge the receipt of a letter dated the 16th August, saying that the Mahanth had summoned his principal disciples to Barigada to confer upon the proposed agreement. Also a telegram, dated the 25th, yesterday, to the effect that the Mahanth and his party had not returned to Gaya, but were expected daily.

3. In these circumstances it seems clear that the time has come to make a final settlement of the matter, and I shall be much obliged if you will again undertake a visit to Bodh-Gaya and use your influence, and your best efforts, to bring about this result.

4. I have very carefully considered the amendments in the draft agreement which were suggested by Mr. Cotton and the Mahanth's disciples. I have accepted those which I deemed it possible to accept, but have been unable to accept all. I now enclose a final draft of an agreement which contains the least that I am prepared to accept on behalf of the Bengal Government, and I invite your careful attention to it. I also append a copy of the draft agreement forwarded with your letter under reply. (Not sent herewith.)

5. In paragraph 1 the amendments suggested could not be accepted : they traverse the whole case of Government. In paragraph 2 the suggestion of the disciples has been accepted and the paragraph has been modified accordingly. In paragraph 3 no change has been made. Mr. Cotton's first amendment would have had the effect of excluding from the jurisdiction of the Committee all disputes which may arise between worshippers and the Mahanth and his disciples, and the second amendment implies a distrust of the Bengal Government which I cannot admit into the agreement. In paragraph 4 Mr. Cotton's amendment is accepted, and it has been embodied in the draft agreement. In paragraphs 5 and 6 the proposed amendments cannot be accepted.

6. I shall now be obliged if you will lay this final draft of the agreement before the Mahanth and press him to accept it, and to sign it before yourself and another witness. If I have not received this signed copy of the agreement before the 12th of September, I shall, on that day, lay the whole matter before the Government of India for their orders.

7. I need hardly remind you of the importance of success in this mission, and I have every confidence that you will carry out the professions of loyalty and zeal in this cause, which I have already received from you.

(2) *Final draft of proposed agreement between Government of Bengal and Mahanth regarding conduct of worship at Bodh-Gaya Temple.*

A. The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya agrees to the following terms :—

1. Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great temple at Bodh-Gaya, but the worship by one shall be conducted in such a way as not to offend the other ; in particular the *tilak* mark shall not be placed upon the image nor shall it be painted, and all clothing shall be removed from the image if at any time this shall be required by a reasonable number of Buddhist worshippers.

2. The Hindus are entitled to offer *pindas* under the Mahabodhi tree adjoining the west of the temple, as well as under that to the north of it, but in doing so and in worshipping the trees, nothing shall be done to offend the Buddhists. Similarly, the Buddhists in worshipping the trees shall do nothing to offend the religious feelings of the Hindus.
3. In order that the above terms may be carried out to the satisfaction of all parties, and to settle all points of dispute, there shall be a Committee consisting of three persons, namely, the Senior Hindu Judge or Magistrate in Gaya, who shall be the chairman, a Hindu nominee of the Mahanth, and a resident of Gaya (Hindu or Buddhist), to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor.
4. This Committee shall have no jurisdiction to deal with any question affecting the rights of the Mahanth over the temple and its precincts, and shall deal only with each disputed case as it arises; and save as below its rulings shall apply only to that case. Each ruling of the Committee shall be reported by it through the Collector to the Commissioner. If the latter registers and takes note of the decision, it will apply only to the case and decision which has elicited it. If the Commissioner formally confirms the decision, it will become a ruling for the decision of similar cases in the future.

B. On the other hand, if these terms are accepted by the Mahanth, the Bengal Government agrees :—

5. That for the purposes of this agreement and without prejudice, the Mahanth for the time being is declared to be the landlord of the Mahabodhi Temple and its surroundings, and to be the manager in possession.
 6. That he is entitled to receive all the fees and offerings given at the temple, and under both Bodhi trees.
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46. Telegram from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 13th September 1903. Mahanth declines all terms : instructions solicited.

On the 11th September Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea wired that the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya declines all terms. I am awaiting letter. Meanwhile I shall be glad to know what Your Excellency wishes as to form of orders now to be passed. Shall I record Resolution stating whole facts, and submit case to India for orders, or am I to write to Your Excellency privately as before? In the former case, would Your Excellency wish to see Resolution before it is issued?

47. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 13th September 1903. Issue of Resolution by Bengal Government suggested.

I send you a telegram from Mr. Bourdillon, received to-day, showing that the Mahanth has finally and definitely refused to sign.

In the passages marked with slips in the correspondence—which I also put up—are to be found the declarations that we have made as to the future. In the first of these, my letter of May 26th, you will find that I authorize Mr. Bourdillon to inform the Mahanth “that it will be my duty to recommend to the Government of India the publication of a full statement of the case, and to recommend to the Secretary of State that power be taken by legislation to regulate the worship at the Bodh-Gaya Temple.” It is, I understand, the first of these steps that the Lieutenant-Governor now proposes to assist me in carrying out by recording and issuing a Resolution stating the whole facts, and announcing his intention to refer the case to the Government of India for orders.

I think that such a Resolution from the Bengal Government might be useful at this stage ; for

- (1) it would emphasize the local and provincial character of the negotiations up to date :
 - (2) by showing up the duplicity and bad faith of the Mahanth, it would alienate public opinion from him, and might cause pressure to be placed upon him to sign even at the eleventh hour :
 - (3) it would be an indispensable summary of the case and justification of our proceedings, if we are called upon to address the Secretary of State ; but
 - (4) if the Resolution be issued, it should certainly be seen by us in advance.
- will you kindly again advise me ?
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48. Letter from Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 15th September 1903. Agrees to the issue of a Resolution by Bengal Government, and to the draft being first submitted.

In answer to Your Excellency's letter of the 13th (received yesterday) I write to say that I entirely agree on both points ; namely, that if a Resolution is to issue, it had better issue from the Bengal Government, and that we should certainly see the draft.

49. Letter from Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 15th September 1903. Anticipates serious agitation : suggestion to drop case.

Your Excellency will find below an answer to your letter, which is for the file. This letter is intended for your personal consideration.

I have thought a good deal about this case lately, and have felt very unhappy about it, because a feeling has been growing upon me that I have advised Your Excellency badly in it. I must, of course, have made many blunders at various times ; but this is the only case of real importance that I remember, in which I feel strongly that I have made a serious mistake.

The more I think of it, the more I feel that the issue of the proposed Resolution, and the declaration of our intention to legislate for the regulation of the worship at the Bodh-Gaya Shrine, would be unwise, since it might very possibly lead to a very dangerous agitation.

It is true that we have a very strong case, in the fact that the present temple owes its existence to us, the report of the Commission, and the fact that the Mahanth has at one time or another promised everything that we now ask. On the other hand, we have very little justification for intervention at the present moment, since the public peace is in no way threatened, and we have no complaints on the part of Buddhist worshippers.

But, as I said before, this is not a matter in which reason or argument will carry much weight. It may be that our proposal will arouse little or no opposition. But it may, on the other hand, be made the pretext for an agitation which might become serious, whether it arose from genuine religious feeling, or was fomented by interested and disloyal persons, or both.

Now we are already at variance with the European community about the Bain case. We shall have to fight the educated natives over the Universities Bill, and if an agitation amongst the bigoted Hindus arise from this Bodh-Gaya case, we shall be at open variance with every section of the Bengal community. I would ask Your Excellency to consider whether the case is one in which it is worth while to risk such a result.

If we are to abandon the idea of legislation, there seem to be two courses possible to us :—

- (1) to drop the whole matter altogether, and at once ;
- (2) for Mr. Bourdillon to write to us reporting the whole facts of the case, and proposing legislation, and for us to reply, strongly condemning the action of the Mahanth but rejecting the proposal on the ground that no sufficient reason exists at present for interference in a religious matter ; the papers to be published, thus fulfilling the first part of Your Excellency's threat, but not the second. It would, of course, be necessary to tell Mr. Bourdillon what we proposed to do ; and it might be that he would decline to address us, merely in order to be overruled. But I do not think he would. He is leaving Bengal immediately, so that his personal prestige is very slightly concerned.

Your Excellency may say that you are too far involved personally for it to be possible for you to adopt either of these courses. But when you consulted me

verbally in May, and I doubted whether legislation would be advisable, you yourself suggested that it would be easy to let the Secretary of State know privately that we wished him to disallow our proposals. If then you are prepared to contemplate being finally overruled by the Secretary of State at your own suggestion, would it be out of the question to allow people to think that, after taking the advice of your Council, you had seen reason to abandon your intended line of action?

Your Excellency will, of course, blame me grievously for my change of attitude; though not more grievously than I blame myself. I ought never to have abandoned my original position—that the *only* safe course is to abstain absolutely from all interference in matters of religion. But it is better that I should tell you frankly what I now feel, than that I should leave you under the impression that my views are unaltered.

At the same time, this letter is written solely for your personal consideration.

I have spoken and shall speak to no one else about the case; and I am absolutely in Your Excellency's hands in the matter. I am responsible for Your Excellency's being in a position from which you may feel that it is impossible to recede; and if that is so, I shall of course support the line of action to which I originally assented. Any other course on my part would be disloyal to you.

I cannot tell you how distressed I am to have to write this letter. But I think it my duty to do so.

**50. Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 16th September 1903.
Reply to letter No. 49 : Viceroy decides to ask for draft Resolution.**

I do not in the least blame you. In fact, I have such confidence in your advice (though this sounds rather a paradox) that I prefer your first thoughts to your second. On two points in particular I do not follow the latter:

(1) Though I have hitherto supported you in your resistance to the Religious Endowments Bills in Madras, I have done so mainly because of the complicated and dangerous machinery that it was proposed to set up—elected Committees and so on; not because I share your fears, in their extreme shape, to ever dealing in any form with religious matters. I have no doubt whatever that the Government of India will be compelled to do so in the long run.

(2) I do not myself anticipate, as you do, a serious agitation in this case, even should we decide to act as a Government. Since the first two or three suspicious articles appeared in the native press, all subsequent references have been of a most friendly character, and I have even seen my attitude praised and that of the Mahanth condemned. If your department has done its duty, it should have put

up these extracts to you. For the moment I can only lay my hands upon two. The first is a letter in the *Bengali* (my bitterest enemy), which completely shut them up. The second is an extract from the *Indian Social Reformer*. The latter is three years old, and is only of value as indicating a general point of view. Similar notices have appeared in the *Voice of India* and other leading Hindu organs, during the past few months. But—even supposing that I am wrong in all these respects—I do not see that the situation which you predicate need arise. The Resolution of the Bengal Government need merely be a narrative resolution, explaining the action of the Local Government and terminating with the record of their failure. It might end with a sentence, that we can insert, to the effect that it rests with a superior power to decide whether any further action should be taken. This will commit us to nothing, not even to consulting the Secretary of State. We can see how the matter is received. If there is a great outcry, we can drop the case altogether. If public opinion justifies us, we can pursue it. Wherein lies the danger in this? You must remember that the proceedings and report of the Commission, and the action taken by Mr. Bourdillon, are already widely known in Bengal; and if there has so far been no agitation, I attribute it to the consciousness on the part of the native journals that they have not the material. Moreover, if there has ever been a Viceroy, who is non-suspect in such matters, and who has shown a complete impartiality between all religions, including his own, is it not, by common admission myself? That anybody should accuse me of favouring one religion at the expense of another, would seem almost incredible.

I would, therefore, propose to ask Mr. Bourdillon to send me his draft, and would reserve any consent to its publication until we have seen it.

51. *Letter (Extract) from Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 16th September 1903. Reply to above letter (No. 50).*

As for the Bodh-Gaya case, I had not seen the cuttings which Your Excellency encloses; and I certainly ought to have been shown the letter in the *Bengali*. The writer is evidently a highly-educated man, and neither he nor the *Indian Social Reformer* can be taken as in any way representing the ordinary Hindu. Still, the fact remains that the *Bengali* published the letter.

But it is not the native press, *in the first instance*, that I am afraid of. The class of men who write in and read it are not much concerned about such questions, and would interest themselves in them, only in so far as they might make use of them to discredit the Government. The agitation would begin, if at all, among the orthodox Hindu community; and might then be assisted and fomented by the disloyal sections of the native press. I doubt whether the silence which

the newspapers have hitherto preserved on the subject, is any index whatever to the way in which the great mass of Hindus would regard it.

As for the Resolution—if it is to be, as Your Excellency suggests it should be, a mere narrative, which commits us to nothing—of course there can be no objection to it. But is it possible that the publication of the narrative should not commit Your Excellency to action, still further than you are already committed? It must begin by reciting your personal negotiations with the Mahanth; and it will be understood that the subsequent proceedings of the Bengal Government were in pursuance of those negotiations. Each step taken subsequently has necessarily committed Your Excellency more and more, and rendered it more difficult to drop the matter, or to accept what is virtual defeat at the hands of the Mahanth. But at any rate, the facts of the case are at present little known, beyond a small circle. If you publish them to the world, you will make it far more difficult to withdraw, and it by no means follows that the outcry will succeed immediately upon the Resolution; nor will the absence of any such outcry assure us that actual proposals for legislation (which is the only form of action possible) will not stir up an agitation which the vague suggestions of the Resolution failed to arouse.

I do not say that there certainly would be strong feeling aroused: I think that depends very largely upon how far Hindu sentiment disapproves of the worship of an image of Buddha. But I think that the risk of such a feeling is considerable; and that it would be unwise to incur it.

52. *Telegram from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 18th September 1903. Mahanth still refuses to sign.*

Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea writes me that the Mahanth refuses to sign anything, and assumes an attitude of passive resistance and injured innocence. The Mahanth has promised a letter which is awaited.

53. *Letter from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 24th September 1903. Suggests the issue of the Resolution: draft to be submitted: Sir D. Ibbetson's fears.*

My work has been too heavy to admit of my writing to you at an earlier date the promised letter about Bodh-Gaya.

I am myself of opinion that the publication of a Resolution by your Government would be the best thing. But, if this be contemplated, the Government of India must see and approve of it before issue, and must even claim the right to ask you not to publish it if they disapprove. Further, I must be kept out of it as much as possible. It might begin by saying that the matter had for long interested the Bengal Government, and that it had been brought to my notice when I visited Gaya, after which I had handed over the further conduct of the case to the Bengal Government, or words to that effect. The Resolution should then be of a purely narrative description, and might end by saying that the Local Government having done its best to arrive at a peaceful solution of the matter, regret to have to record their failure, and leave it to a superior power to decide whether any further action should be taken.

I do not myself see danger in such a Resolution. Our case is so strong and reasonable that it seems to me hardly to admit even of misrepresentation. Neither would such a pronouncement pledge the Government of India to legislation, or to any action. We could wait to see how it was received, and what was said by native opinion in Bengal. On the other hand, I must candidly tell you that Ibbetson, who is very nervous about touching religion at all, is opposed to our doing or saying anything : and would like the defeat to be swallowed, and the matter dropped. He says that, even though the native press or the educated native community were with us, or not against us, this need not prevent a most dangerous agitation among the masses ; that the matter is now little known, while the results of publicity cannot be foreseen ; and that by publication in any form I should either be committed to action which might be disastrous; or, by inaction, should have openly to acknowledge defeat.

I am not disposed to share these apprehensions, which seem to me exaggerated. You, however, are my natural adviser in these matters. You know Bengal feeling. You know the degree to which the matter is already known, and the forces that are or may be arrayed against us. You will be able to tell me whether the preliminary step of a narrative Resolution is, in your opinion, open to the perils which Ibbetson foresees.

I beg, therefore, that you will advise me quite frankly in the matter.

54. *Telegram from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 25th September 1903. Mahanth, on Mr. Cotton's advice, disposed to sign.*

Mr. Cotton informs me that on his advice Mahanth is disposed to sign agreement, and is about to submit it with letter.

55. Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 9th October 1903. Replies to letter No. 53. Encloses a memorandum.

I have to acknowledge the receipt, on the 29th September, of Your Excellency's letter of the 24th idem, dealing with the Bodh-Gaya Temple case, and to reply thereto. My reply has been somewhat delayed by the holidays.

2. Your Excellency accepted the suggestion, made in my telegram of the 13th September, that a Resolution should be recorded by the Government of Bengal stating the facts and laying the matter before the Government of India, and, after mentioning the apprehensions with which Sir D. Ibbetson is inspired, Your Excellency asked me to discuss the matter frankly.

3. I have ventured to depart slightly from the proposal made by myself, and accepted by Your Excellency; instead of sending the draft of a Resolution, I submit in proof (with two spare copies) a Memorandum, which deals fully with the subject. Your Excellency will see that in paragraphs 19, 20, and 21 I have quoted freely from your note of the 16th January. I have also, as desired, endeavoured to keep your name in the background—perhaps too much. I cordially accept Your Excellency's stipulation that the draft shall be liable to the fullest criticism of the Government of India, and that, if deemed necessary, it may be altogether withheld.

4. My reasons for making this change of form are these: first, I desired to leave on record distinctly my views on the whole matter, particularly in respect of the danger of agitation. Secondly, it seemed to me that, as soon as I was apprised of the views of the Government of India, it would be easy to distil and draw up a Resolution from the Memorandum. Thirdly, it is possible that even yet the Mahanth may give in and accept the agreement, and in that case the Resolution would end in a different fashion from the present Memorandum.

5. I do not share Sir D. Ibbetson's apprehension. I have stated, in paragraph 25, my belief that there will be no serious agitation, and I now forward, for Your Excellency's information, copies of the only newspaper notices of our proceedings in connection with the Mahabodhi Temple, which I have seen. I am sanguine that the justice and moderation of our case will disarm press criticism. As to the masses, I do not think that they need be considered. The ordinary pilgrims who visit Bodh-Gaya will know nothing of the matter: things will go on exactly as before, except that the image of Buddha will not be painted and clothed. We have pretty clear evidence that no strict Hindu will worship before the image of Buddha, and the common herd of pilgrims will not concern themselves with the change, which they will probably not notice. If the Mahanth and his followers try to prime these pilgrims, and to stir up strife, the Committee and the Magistrate of Gaya will deal with him.

6. There remains the question of publication. Your Excellency appears to contemplate the publication of a Resolution of the Government of Bengal in the

Calcutta Gazette, and that then the Government of India shall await developments. That was not quite my idea : what I anticipated was that the Bengal Government should record such a Resolution, and then, without publication, submit it to the Government of India for consideration : after which, when the Government of India had come to a decision on the subject, they would pass orders, and these would be communicated in the ordinary course through the Government of Bengal to the Mahanth, and to the Commissioner of the Patna Division.

7. I put these two courses before Your Excellency for consideration. The first openly throws down the glove, invites attention, and provokes criticism. The second effects our object in a quiet, business-like and unostentatious fashion. The first course has this advantage that it leaves the Government of India a free hand to approve or disapprove the proposals of the Bengal Government as circumstances may dictate, but it challenges attention I think, and opens the door to agitation. The second course commits the Government of India to action before it has had time or opportunity to gauge the tone of the Press ; but if that Government are satisfied of the strength of their case, and the righteousness of the action proposed, there seems to be no reason to hesitate, to await the verdict of the newspapers, who after all represent nobody but a small section of the educated community, and who can always be confronted with the fact that we have on our side three of themselves. If the second course is adopted, the Mahanth will of course publish the orders in the papers, but by that time the thing will be done, and any agitation will be futile. I am prepared to accept without hesitation whichever course Your Excellency decides to pursue.

8. The whole of the above arguments are based on the assumption that the Mahanth remains obdurate. If he gives in after all, then I presume that the Government of India need not appear at all in the matter. I would record a Resolution reciting the facts, accepting the agreement, and giving effect to it by orders to the local officers. There would be no publication in the *Gazette*.

9. In conclusion, I desire to refer for a moment to the parenthetical remark in paragraph 25 of my Memorandum. Your Excellency has indicated in the correspondence which has passed that if the Mahanth refuses our terms, and we are driven to legislation, we need not be bound by our previous offers, but are at liberty to dictate our own terms. I venture to think that we should not take up that position : we have formulated our demands ; and if they are reasonable and fair, as I believe, we should be satisfied with getting them : we do not want to play the part of the Sibyl ; and if we did, we should weaken our claim to moderation and expose ourselves to the charge of vindictiveness.

10. I hope that the matter may be disposed of before I leave Bengal.

Your Excellency has no doubt considered the effect which a spontaneous concession to the Buddhists would have at a time when our relations with China and Tibet are so strained.

Enclosure of No. 55:

Memorandum by Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 9th October 1903, on Bodh-Gaya Temple case.

Within the provinces ruled by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal there exists no more interesting monument of the past than the temple of Bodh-Gaya in the district of Gaya. This temple was built in the First Century B.C. on the site of a still older one founded by the Emperor Asoka 150 years before that date. Since Asoka's time it has been a place of Buddhist pilgrimage and worship ; Buddhist pilgrims from China and Burma are known to have visited it up to 1331 A.D., and though the place after that date seems to have fallen under Brahminical influence, there is evidence of the fact that Buddhist worship has gone on regularly in it up to the present time. From the period of the Muhammadan conquest of India until the advent of the British the temple remained neglected, and it was only in the early part of the Nineteenth Century that archæologists commenced to make researches into its history : the ruins of it were completely restored by the Bengal Government in 1884. In the neighbourhood of the temple is a *math* or monastery which traces its origin back to the middle of the Sixteenth Century of the Christian era, and which was established by the Hindu sect of *Girs*, one of the ten *Shavite* orders of Sankara Acharya, who lived in the Eighth or Ninth Century. About the year 1727 A.D., the then Mahanth received, by Royal *firman* from the Mogul Emperor Muhammad Shah, the grant of the village of Taradih, wherein the ruins of the temple stood and thus acquired possession of the shrine. In spite of this circumstance, however, the temple has never ceased to be regarded as a Buddhist place of worship and pilgrimage.

2. In 1876 Mindoon Min, King of Burma, being anxious to carry out the work of restoration of the temple and to construct a building on the adjacent ground for the accommodation of a number of Buddhist priests who wished to settle there for the performance of religious service at the shrine, obtained the permission of the Government of India to depute a party of Burmese officials and workmen for the purpose. It soon appeared, however, that this work was being done without regard to archæological fitness, and accordingly the Lieutenant-Governor deputed the late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra to visit the place, and, in consequence of his report, took the work of restoration into his own hands, and completed it, at a considerable cost, in 1884. The King of Burma's proposals had been communicated to the Mahanth, who agreed to them, offering to give for the proposed building for priests, or monastery, a site free of cost. A building was erected by the Burmese on the proposed site of the monastery ; and for years it has been kept in repair as a rest-house by Government. After the repairs done to the temple by Government the building was placed in charge of the Magistrate of the district, a chaukidar being employed to look after it. In February 1890 the temple was brought on to the books of the Public Works Department, and was placed in charge of the Executive Engineer. An Overseer of the Public Works Department was at the same time appointed custodian whose duty it was to take charge of all the *chatyas*, pieces of sculpture, and other reliques found within the vicinity of the temple, and to draw up estimates for and carry out any repair and petty drainage works that might be necessary.

3. In 1891 the Mahabodhi Society was founded by Buddhists in Ceylon, one of its objects being to recover possession of the Bodh-Gaya Temple for the Buddhists. Early in 1893 an endeavour was made on behalf of the Society to obtain a conveyance or lease of

the temple from the Mahanth ; on the failure of these negotiations Mr. Dharmapala, General Secretary of the Society, applied to the Bengal Government in April 1894 for assistance in obtaining the transfer of the temple from the Mahanth, but was told in reply that Government was not in a position to help him. In the same year Mr. Dharmapala having been entrusted when in Japan in the preceding November with a historical image of Buddha for enshrinement in the temple, endeavoured to carry out his mission, but having failed to obtain the permission of the Mahanth or the support of the Government, he abandoned the attempt for the time being. However, on the 25th February 1895, he proceeded, with three companions, to place the image in the temple without permission and to worship before it. This action was resented by the disciples of the Mahanth, and a disturbance ensued which resulted in the removal of the image from the temple and the expulsion of Mr. Dharmapala and his companions. A protracted criminal prosecution followed upon this incident, which ended in the conviction of certain disciples of the Mahanth in the Courts of the District Magistrate and the Sessions Judge ; but they were eventually acquitted by the High Court on appeal on the ground that it was not established that the complainant and his associates were lawfully engaged in religious worship when they were disturbed, and that the accused, therefore, in causing the disturbance had committed no offence under Section 296, Indian Penal Code.

4. The question of the Mahanth's position in regard to the temple was discussed at great length in the various judgments recorded in the course of these proceedings. The High Court found that while on the one hand the temple was a place of Buddhist worship, on the other hand it was in the possession of the Mahanth, and that he was the sole superintendent. As regards the treatment of the temple as a Hindu Shrine, the judgment of the District Magistrate showed that in 1811 A.D. there was no Hindu worship *inside* the building. It was, moreover, quite clear from the evidence taken in the case that the temple had never been converted into a Hindu Temple in the sense that Hindu idols have been enshrined or that orthodox Hindu worship has been carried on in it.

5. The ill-advised proceedings of Mr. Dharmapala, far from achieving the objects which he had in view, led the Mahanth and his disciples to assume in reprisal a more hostile attitude, to assert with an insistence hitherto unknown their claim to the temple as a Hindu Shrine, and to give more prominence to the worship carried on there. During the year 1895 and the early part of 1896 the Mahanth attempted, but without success, to induce the Government of Bengal to remove the Japanese image from the neighbourhood of the temple. In reply to all his applications it was said that while Government would maintain an attitude of strict impartiality on all questions affecting the shrine, it was determined to discourage all attempts from whatever quarter which might lead to a breach of the peace.

6. In July 1896 the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, visited Gaya on tour and after granting an interview both to Mr. Dharmapala and the Mahanth impressed on them the necessity for a compromise, suggesting that the Japanese image might be placed in the temple, and that the worship of Buddha should be conducted in accordance with Buddhist ritual. Subsequently certain petitions which had been received by Government from both Buddhists and Hindus were forwarded to the Commissioner of Patna for opinion. In reply the Commissioner reported that he had not been able to carry out the arrangements suggested by His Honour towards effecting a compromise, and that the situation remained practically unchanged.

7. Between 1897 and 1902 several applications from various members of the Buddhist community were received by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, all praying for the concession of further privileges for Buddhists at Bodh-Gaya. Some of these amounted to a request that the shrine should be acquired and made over to the Buddhists. Sir John Woodburn, while sympathizing with the feelings and aspirations of the Buddhist community, was of opinion that to acquire the temple for the exclusive benefit of one sect of religious worshippers was not acquisition for a public purpose within the meaning of the Land Acquisition Act. In his opinion also very strong arguments would be required to justify a proposal to deprive the Mahanth of his proprietary rights by legislation, and these did not seem to him to exist.

8. Such was the situation of affairs at the end of 1902. It was abundantly clear that the temple of Bodh-Gaya was originally a Buddhist Shrine of great antiquity, although for some time the building together with the lands of the village in which it stands have been in the possession of a Hindu Mahanth ; that the old temple had fallen into complete ruin and would soon have disappeared had not the Government of Bengal, acting upon the initiative of the Buddhist King of Burma, spent a large sum upon the restoration of it ; that in consequence they maintained a custodian for the care of the building, although the Hindu Mahanth was allowed to control the worship and to receive the offerings of pilgrims, whether Buddhist or Hindu ; that the worship performed in the temple by Hindus was of a spurious and unorthodox character, and that it was a cult of very recent growth. It also appeared that since the misguided attempts of certain members of the Buddhist faith to place by force an image of Buddha in the temple and thus assert and establish a right to the building, efforts had been made by way of retaliation to push and extend the Hindu worship, thus of necessity giving pain and offence to many devout Buddhists. The proceedings in the Criminal Courts in 1895 had produced much irritation and bitterness of feeling between the rival sects, and while the Buddhists have continued to press for larger privileges and to express their dissatisfaction with the condition of affairs which they find at Bodh-Gaya, the Mahanth and his disciples have assumed a more hostile and less tolerant attitude, and have attempted unceasingly to assert their authority and to give an increasingly Hindu character to the worship and to the image of Buddha which the temple contains. Such a situation contained all the elements of rupture and unrest,—forces which were controlled only by the unremitting vigilance of the local officers of Government.

9. In January 1903 His Excellency the Viceroy visited Bodh-Gaya, having informed himself of the situation then existing, partly from papers already in his possession, and partly from a memorandum prepared for him by myself. Lord Curzon viewed with vexation and regret the measures which had been taken by the Mahanth to convert the ancient Buddhist Shrine into a place of Hindu worship, and appreciated to the full the pain which such proceedings must cause to the Buddhist pilgrims who visit this sacred spot from all parts of the East. He communicated his views to the Mahanth, and made it clear to him that his attitude was not acceptable to Government, and should be abandoned.

10. Subsequently the Collector made to the Mahanth the proposal to come to an agreement on the following lines. The main temple would become an exclusively Buddhist Shrine. There would probably be no objection to Hindus visiting it, but they would not conduct worship there, or decorate the image, or burn lights or spill *ghi* before it. The shrine would not be handed over to the Buddhists as their property, since the Government had no desire to

oust one proprietor merely in order to install another, but would be held in trust by Government, who would issue regulations for the proper conduct of Buddhist worship there. The Bo-tree against the west outer wall of the shrine would similarly be recognized as a place of peculiarly Buddhist sanctity, though there would be no objection to Hindus visiting (but not making offerings to) it. On the other hand, the larger Bo-tree on the platform would be reserved as an object of Hindu devotion. The remainder of the enclosure would remain as it now is open to all parties; and the Mahanth would continue as the ground-landlord to draw the fees of all visitors, whether Hindu or Buddhist. The Mahanth, after first giving a qualified assent to the suggestion, afterwards withdrew, and absolutely refused to consider such an agreement.

11. The question of the Bodh-Gaya Temple is one in which I have long felt a strong personal interest, and in March I took up the matter on the ground that the present situation was intolerable, and that it was essential to bring it to an end. After careful consideration I decided to depute to Bodh-Gaya an informal Commission of two native gentlemen of well-known position, learning, and authority in order to clear up doubtful points, and—if they found that the views of the Government of Bengal were reasonable and its conclusions founded on facts—to use their influence with the Mahanth to induce him to comply with my proposals. The gentlemen selected were the Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. C. Mitra, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prashad Shastri, Principal of the Sanskrit College.

12. The duties of the Commissioners were defined as follows in a memorandum drawn up by me for their guidance on the 16th March:—

“Their business will be to ascertain with accuracy the position and claims of the Mahanth and the facts as regards the Hindu worship of the great image of Buddha, i.e., when it was first commenced, how far it has been regularly or continuously performed, and by what class of persons, and so on. They might also at the same time make such references as may be thought necessary to the pundits at Benares, Nadia, or elsewhere in order to ascertain whether such worship as is carried on is genuine, orthodox, and worthy of commendation.

The Commissioners will, of course, visit the shrine and see the actual condition of affairs there, and they should interview the Mahanth at the Collector's house or at some place other than Bodh-Gaya itself. With the assistance of the Collector they will send for and examine any one whose evidence they may desire to take. They should put again before the Mahanth the agreement which was suggested to him by Mr. Oldham, and should a certain why he receded from it. He should be reminded that the proposal embodied in it was generous in its recognition of his claims and in the small demand which it made upon his goodwill, that it should not be lightly refused, and that if refused it might not be renewed: if he were to show any disposition to accede to it, the fact should be reported to Government. On the other hand, in the event of the Mahanth proving refractory, the Commissioners should then advise as to the steps to be taken; they should make a pronouncement upon the question of ritual, and should consider and advise whether the ownership of the shrine and the right to control its worship should be tested by a private suit in a court of law.”

13. The Commissioners proceeded to Gaya on the 20th March, and there met Mr. C. E. A. Oldham, who until a few days before had been Collector of the District. They visited Bodh-Gaya, examined many witnesses and held long interviews with the Mahanth himself and his disciples and advisers. Finally they submitted their report, which, owing to delays in the Press, did not reach me till the middle of June.

14. They found that the temple was undoubtedly of Buddhist origin, that it has been revered and visited by Buddhist pilgrims for 2,000 years, but that the ruins of it had passed into the possession of a Hindu Mahanth under the circumstances described in paragraph 1 of this memorandum, so that the Mahanth is in *de facto* possession of the temple and its surroundings, and has always acted as the superintendent of it. As regards the question of worship

they found that the majority of orthodox Hindus whom they examined considered that the mere sight of Buddha's image is sinful to a Hindu, and that the old *Shastras* do not warrant the worship of any such image ; that there was no proper or regular worship of the image before 1894, but that there was evidence of regular and continuous worship of some sort since that date, though they were not satisfied that such worship is proper Hindu worship. On these premises they recommended that Hindu worship even of this spurious kind should not be prohibited, and they urged that both Hindus and Buddhists should be allowed freedom of worship, but that the worship of both should be conducted in such a fashion that neither should offend the other. They insisted on the necessity of supervision by Government in order to prevent friction and dissension, and they recommended that the Mahanth should be required to sign an agreement by which the superintendence and control of the worship at the Mahabodhi Temple and under the Bodhi-trees at Bodh-Gaya should be vested in an independent Board, consisting of three or five respectable gentlemen, with power to finally settle all questions as to disputed rituals and forms of worship. Finally they recommended that if the Mahanth refused to sign a deed in the above terms, legislation should be undertaken to give effect to their proposals.

15. These conclusions were communicated to me in anticipation of the publication of the report, and at the same time they were unofficially made known to the Mahanth and his advisers, to whom the draft of an agreement was shown by the Commissioners. On the 5th April, Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, President of the British Indian Association, and an intimate friend of the Mahanth, called upon me with a draft agreement emanating from the Mahanth and offered his services as a mediator. As he was believed to have much influence with the Mahanth, which he promised to use on the side of Government, and as his intervention was supported by the Commissioners, his offer was accepted. The Mahanth was invited to Calcutta, where he conferred again with the Commissioners, with the Raja, and with his legal adviser, Mr. Cotton, barrister-at-law. Protracted negotiations followed in which I insisted on the terms of the agreement as proposed by the Commissioners being substantially carried out, while the Mahanth made every effort to obtain a modification of them, and on more than one occasion drew back from terms which he had previously agreed to accept.

16. The terms of the draft agreement which was finally propounded to the Mahanth as the least that I was prepared to accept are as follows :—

A—The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya agrees to the following terms :—

- (1) Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great temple at Bodh-Gaya, but the worship by one community shall be conducted in such a way as not to offend the other : in particular the *tilak* mark shall not be placed upon the image, nor shall it be painted, and all clothing shall be removed from the image if at any time this shall be required by a reasonable number of Buddhist worshippers.
- (2) The Hindus are entitled to offer *pindas* under the Bodhi-tree adjoining the west of the temple, as well as under that to the north of it, but in worshipping the trees nothing shall be done to offend the Buddhists. Similarly the Buddhists in worshipping the trees shall do nothing to offend the religious feelings of the Hindus.

- (3) In order that the above terms may be carried out to the satisfaction of all parties, and to settle all points of dispute, there shall be a Committee consisting of three persons, *viz.*, the Senior Hindu Judge or Magistrate in Gaya, who shall be the Chairman, a Hindu nominee of the Mahanth, and a resident of Gaya (Hindu or Buddhist) to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor.
- (4) This Committee shall have no jurisdiction to deal with any question affecting the rights of the Mahanth over the temple and its precincts, and shall deal only with each disputed case as it arises : and, save as below, its ruling shall apply only to that case. Each ruling of the Committee shall be reported by it through the Collector to the Commissioner of the Division. If the latter registers and takes note of the decision, it will apply only to the case which has elicited it. If the Commissioner formally confirms the decision, it will become a ruling for the decision of similar cases in future.

B—On the other hand, if these terms are accepted by the Mahanth, the Bengal Government agrees—

- (5) That for the purposes of this agreement, and without prejudice, the Mahanth for the time being is declared to be the landlord of the Mahabodhi Temple and its surroundings, and to be the manager in possession.
- (6) That he is entitled to receive all the fees and offerings given at the temple and under both Bodhi-trees.

It will be seen that in this agreement there are important modifications of the terms originally propounded by the Collector and that they all take the form of concessions to the wishes of the Mahanth.

17. Efforts were made to induce the Mahanth to come to Darjeeling in June to confer with me, and to Bankipore in July to meet me when on tour, but on each occasion he excused himself on the ground of ill-health, a plea which is believed to have been valid. Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, however, visited Darjeeling in the beginning of June, and it was made clear to him that the Lieutenant-Governor would insist on an answer being given by the Mahanth to the Government proposals, and that his own best interests lay in inducing the Mahanth to acquiesce in the proposed agreement. The Raja went to Gaya on two occasions, and has represented that he has used every endeavour to persuade the Mahanth to accept the terms offered by Government. Mr. Cotton has also assured me that he has thrown his own weight into the same scale. So far there has been no result, and the Mahanth resolutely refuses to sign any agreement, or to come to any terms with the Bengal Government.

18. In the circumstances above described it is manifest that the negotiations for an amicable arrangement for the future control of the worship at the Bodh-Gaya Temple in accordance with the views of Government have completely failed, and it remains to be considered what steps should now be taken to give effect to what I regard as an imperative reform. Before doing so it may be as well to review the situation and to sum up the arguments in favour of interference.

19. That Bodh-Gaya is a Buddhist Shrine built by Buddhists in commemoration of one of the most sacred incidents in the life of their master, intended for the accommodation of Buddhist images and Buddhist worship, and treated as the object of Buddhist pilgrimage from all parts of the Eastern world, with only occasional interruptions, for a period of 2,000

years, does not admit of dispute. That no question of Hindu ownership was ever created till 1727 A.D., when the grant of the village in which the shrine stands was for the first time made by a Mogul Sovereign to the then Mahant is indisputable. That the rights of possession or control then acquired were not till quite recent years exercised, so as to convert a Buddhist into a Hindu place of worship or to introduce Hindu priests or rites into the shrine, is also admitted. In the passage of time, the place has acquired an interest to Hindu devotees, the Bodhi-tree being one of the forty-five sacred spots included in the Gaya tour of pilgrimage : and this interest has developed into something approaching a right, owing to the proprietary advantages enjoyed by the Mahanth, and to the fact that until latterly no one has come forward to contest their validity, and no effort has been made to determine their legal character or limitations.

20. What the proprietary rights of the Mahanth are must therefore be inferred from his own acts and those of other persons in which he has acquiesced. On the one hand, the rights of the Mahanth, which rest in the main upon prescription, have suffered frequent derogation at his own hands. For the greater part of the period since the grant of the *firman* in 1727, there does not seem to have been any definite assertion of his authority over the shrine, the reason no doubt being that it was little more than a dilapidated ruin. Buddhist pilgrims were at liberty to come from Burma and to install their images in the shrine : they went so far as to conduct restoration on a large scale. Even on the last occasion, in 1877, when they sought the consent of the Mahanth to such operations, he did not, in according it, lay any claim to proprietary rights over the temple itself. Until the purchase by him within the last ten years of the village adjoining his own, which was also claimed by the seven annas Tikari Raj, his right as ground landlord to the entire temple enclosure was itself open to dispute. As regards the interior of the temple, till eight years ago it not only had no interest for the Hindus, but entrance into it or worship there was actually regarded as a profane or unholy act—so much so that a staircase had actually been built outside the shrine so as to admit of Hindu pilgrims visiting the Bo-tree, which at that time was planted on a higher terrace. The right of the Mahanth to receive all fees for admission to the sacred enclosure, whether from Buddhists or Hindus, seems throughout to have been accepted ; and indeed this followed from his proprietary right over the soil. But the ownership of the temple building seems never to have been raised as an issue by itself: not until the Singhalese Buddhists threw down the challenge some ten years ago does the Mahanth appear to have put forward any positive claim to the temple as a place of Hindu worship ; and then only to have done so partly in retaliation for the aggressive attitude of his opponents, partly in order to strengthen his own claims to ownership should these be formally contested.

21. On the other hand the Bengal Government have in recent years exercised powers of supervision and control at Bodh-Gaya which seem to be incompatible with the complete recognition of the rights of the Mahanth. When the great work of restoration was undertaken by Sir Ashley Eden that was finished in 1884, there do not seem to have been any formal communications with the Mahanth or any official application, for, or receipt of, his consent. All that we have is the statement of Mr. Beglar (the architect) that he received verbal instructions to work harmoniously with the Mahanth (as indeed he seems to have done throughout). Later on the Bengal Government placed the building, which they had thus restored at a total cost of two lakhs, under the Public Works Department, in charge of an Executive Engineer, and appointed an Overseer of the Public Works Department as custodian of the temple. They have since undertaken and paid for such annual repairs as are necessary. They also keep in

repair the Burmese rest-house (built originally from Burmese subscriptions), and they decided in 1896 that the Mahanth had no authority over it. All these acts, though far from amounting to a repudiation of the alleged rights of the Mahanth, are yet not easily reconcilable with their full admission, and seem to involve the gradual assertion of a co-ordinate authority, with power, if not to dispose of the shrine or to expropriate the Mahanth, at least to superintend his superintendence and to control his control.

22. From all these premises certain conclusions clearly emerge. The first is that the Bodh-Gaya Temple is undoubtedly an ancient Buddhist Shrine which ought in justice to belong to the Buddhists. Secondly, that it has for some time been in Hindu hands, but that it is only for the last few years that some kind of Hindu worship has been conducted there. Thirdly, that this worship is of an impure, unorthodox, and spurious character, so that it is not regarded seriously by the majority of the orthodox Hindus of the locality who were consulted. Fourthly, that the manner in which the Hindu worship is conducted and the condition of the image itself are very offensive and revolting to the Buddhists who come to visit the shrine. Lastly, that it is extremely desirable that this state of affairs should be brought to an end, and that the worship in the temple should be regulated according to clear and simple rules of toleration, subject to the control of an independent Committee which would decide all disputes.

23. The Bengal Government do not desire to deprive the Mahanth of the possession of the temple in order to make it over to the Buddhists, nor do they propose to take it out of his hands and manage it themselves or to interfere in any way with the profits which he derives from it, but they do intend to make it possible for worship to be conducted in the temple in such a way as to offend neither Buddhists nor Hindus, and with this end in view to appoint an independent tribunal for deciding disputes which may occur on this and similar points. In exchange for the Mahanth's compliance with these conditions Government propose to recognize his *de facto* possession and managership and formally to declare his right to appropriate the fees and offerings of the pilgrims. The proposals made to the Mahanth in order to give effect to these views were studiously moderate, and in the protracted negotiations which have taken place, every point has been conceded to him which could be granted without sacrificing an essential or violating a principle. The Mahanth has obstinately refused to agree to these terms, and it has now to be decided what course should be taken in the matter. The resources of the Bengal Government are exhausted, and it is time to lay the whole case before the Government of India for their consideration and orders.

24. Two alternatives suggest themselves, *viz.* (a) legislation to give effect to our proposals, or (b) an entire abandonment of them. After the repeated declarations which have been made of the importance which Government attach to the removal of all offence in the ritual at Bodh-Gaya, and to the general control of disputes by an independent Committee, it is impossible to my mind for the proposal now to be abandoned only because the Mahanth refuses to agree to the extremely moderate terms offered to him. If the soundness of this conclusion be conceded there remains no alternative but legislation.

25. Nevertheless it may be urged that legislation, though in itself desirable is not expedient, and that it should not be undertaken lest it should give rise to popular clamour and outcry, the evil effects of which would outweigh the advantages which we expect to derive from our contemplated reforms. I have given this question my best consideration, and my deliberate conviction is that the legislation proposed would be followed by no serious exhibition of feeling,

though there might undoubtedly be some agitation in the native press. An announcement has already appeared in several of the native papers that Government intended to interfere with the control of the Bodh-Gaya Temple, but appears to have excited little attention. The *Bengali*, in its issue of the 15th July, condemned the proposed measure in somewhat lukewarm terms, but published in its issue of the 30th idem a long letter from a Hindu which traversed the statements made in the previous leading article, and supported the proposal that control should be exercised in order that justice might be done to the Buddhists. To meet any agitation that may be raised we have the clearest statements in the evidence of witnesses before the Commission, and in the report of the Commissioners themselves, that the Hindu worship at the temple is spurious, unorthodox, and impure : we have on our side as Commissioners the Brahmin Judge of the High Court and a learned Brahmin Pundit, who is head of the Sanskrit College, the most orthodox institution in Bengal, and we have as our intermediary with the Mahanth a Brahmin Raja, who is the President and the moving spirit of the British Indian Association. My final conclusion is that if legislation is undertaken, there will be little or no opposition, provided that it is made perfectly clear, how moderate are the terms which we demand (for I would not go beyond our draft agreement), how imperative it is that the feelings of the Buddhists should no longer be outraged, how patient and considerate we have been in dealing with the Mahanth : in particular it may be emphasized that no pecuniary loss whatever will be inflicted upon the Mahanth, but that on the contrary the increased popularity of the shrine with the Buddhists may be expected to bring him in larger receipts.

26. What form the proposed legislation should take if it is approved is a matter for the decision of the Government of India, and I offer no suggestion on the matter at present.

56. *Telegram from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 20th October 1903. Refers to his telegram No. 54 : asks what has since happened.*

Gaya. Your private telegram of 25th September. What has happened about signature of agreement ?

57. *Telegram from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 21st October 1903. Mahanth apparently still obdurate.*

Gaya. No indication of signature of agreement. Fear that Mahanth is obdurate.

58. *Telegram from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 28th October 1903. Letter from Mahanth: gives reasons for not signing.*

Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea has forwarded to me, without comment, a long letter from Mahanth, Gaya, giving reasons for not signing agreement. Copy goes to Your Excellency to-day. It contains nothing new.

59. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir D. Ibbetson, dated 29th October 1903. Encloses papers for perusal. Mr. Cotton's change of view. Resolution.*

I wonder if you can find time before to-morrow to glance at these papers, and to speak about the matter to me after Council.

I put before Bourdillon your objections and alarms. He does not share them. His letter, however, explains itself.

One thing I do not quite grasp. In his Memorandum he speaks of legislation as being the only alternative to inaction. But in his letter he speaks of Government passing orders, and these being communicated to Mahanth. What does he mean ?

Since you last saw the case Mr. Cotton has joined our side (so that his press opposition is no longer a factor), but the Mahanth, after an appearance of surrender, has again and finally refused to sign.

As I understand, the Government of India would have to decide what to do when a copy of the unpublished Bengal Resolution reaches us.

Enclosures: See No. 55 above.

60. *Letter from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 29th October 1903. Encloses letter from Mahanth.*

In continuation of my telegram of two days ago, I now forward, for Your Excellency's information, the enclosed copy of a letter from the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea. As I said in my telegram, the letter

contains nothing new, but I thought it better to send a copy to Your Excellency to complete your file.

Enclosure of No. 60:

Letter from Srimahat Krishna Dayal Gir, to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, dated 20th October 1903.

Indeed I cannot express my deep-felt mortification owing to my absence from Bodh-Gaya for not having been able to receive so good a friend and well-wisher as yourself, especially as you took upon yourself the trouble of coming to Gaya for the express purpose of consulting me on a subject touching my own interest. I learn that you were even prepared to undertake the most troublesome journey to Bangalore for the purpose of seeing me there. The way to the place is very uncomfortable and troublesome, especially in the rainy season. The place where I was staying, though healthy and beautiful with natural scenery, is very uncomfortable in other respects. It is a small hamlet in the midst of a wilderness. It would place me in a very awkward position to receive you in a place like this.

I am, however, ever indebted to you for your unceasing kindness and hearty interest for my welfare. I have received your both letters, addressed from Gaya and Utterpara, and thank you for your kind instructions. Gossain Jaipal Giri and Babu Aghore Nath Pal told me everything in detail what you had wished them to communicate to me.

I have also received the draft proposed agreement between myself and the Government of Bengal with regard to the conduct of worship at Bodh-Gaya Temple, as proposed by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and those modified and revised by you and Mr. Cotton. I regard both of you as my best and sincere friends and well-wishers, and whatever you would think proper on the subject could not be detrimental to my interests and benefit. I already verbally told you, when I was your guest in Utterpara, and I again beg to mention here some of the reasons, which, if carefully considered, will explain why I view with apprehension the proposals urged by the present heads of our Government.

1. The Bodh-Gaya *Math* is an ancient monastery, and is well known in India as a charitable institution for itinerant mendicants and all poor people, who come here for relief, without distinction of caste or creed. Its loyalty towards Government has also been recognized with the highest approbation of Government. The numerous official correspondence we have in our possession clearly and distinctly speak of the kind disposition and friendly attitude of Government towards us. The Mahanths of Bodh-Gaya, as loyal subjects of Government, have always considered it their duty to please Government and to be useful to them in cases of emergency as much as lies in their power. Their services during the Sepoy Mutiny, the famines in India, and in all public and charitable matters, are upon record, and I need make no further reference to them.

2. My predecessors and myself have never had any reason to suspect that beyond generously coming forward in the interests of Archaeology to repair the temple of Bodh-Gaya, which had been first undertaken by the Burmese Government under permission of my predecessor and under an agreement duly stamped and executed, our Government had even the slightest

intention or idea of laying claim to the possession or guardianship of the temple, or exercising any control over the conduct of worship by reason of any such repairs, but that, on the contrary, we had distinct assurances from Government that there was no intention or desire on the part of Government to infringe upon the proprietary or possessory rights and privileges of the Mahanth in the temple and its surroundings. The Hon'ble Sir Ashley Eden, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, during whose administration the work of restoration took place, gave distinct assurance to my predecessor, who had hesitated to give his consent in certain proposals regarding the repairs, as stated by Mr. Beglar, the Executive Engineer in charge, in the following words, spoken to him in the course of an interview at the *Math* :—

“ The whole will remain your property, Mahanthji, and you will lose nothing by it ; all that is being done is improving your property, which will remain as much yours after the work is done as before ; the *Sarcar* has no desire either to lessen your rights or to put you under compulsion to give ; but if you will not give, it is your own property you will injure, and I shall be sorry, and learned men will be sorry and not think well of you.” But to interfere with the conduct of worship and rituals is a step quite unprecedented in the established policy of our Government.

May I take the liberty of mentioning here that most of the shrines in India were either built or restored by the Rajas or great men of the country for *bonâ fide* purposes without reserving any right or control of any kind either for themselves or their descendants or successors ; for instance, the present beautiful sculptural temple of *Bishnupada* at Gaya was built by Ahalya Bai, the renowned queen of the Holkars, at a cost of over 12 lakhs ; the golden temple of *Bishweswar* at Benares is the immortal work of the Great Raja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab, who spent several crores of rupees for its construction. And as a matter of fact, the proposition is quite untenable from a legal point of view that a man by coming forward to repair, and even to rebuild the property of another, acquires any right of any kind over the same.

3. That for preservation of antiquity and relics in Bodh-Gaya the local authorities have from time to time asked me or my predecessor in a friendly way to do something or other, and we have always carried out their wishes to their satisfaction. I need hardly say that it was never supposed by any of us that such compliance with the orders of Government officials would be taken in the light of an acknowledgment by us of any superior or co-ordinate rights on their part.

4. I more than once endeavoured to convince you that Dharmapala, who came to Bodh-Gaya with an avowed object of “ restoring the Central shrine of Mahabodhi, and transferring it from the hands of the usurping *Shaivite* Mahanths to the custody of Buddhist monks,” and did many more attempts to attain his object, must be considered to be as the root of all troubles and disputes, if there be any. One of his hostile attempts was, for the purpose of creating a sort of right to the temple, to install in the temple a Japanese image of Buddha (which he professed at the time to be a very ancient and important one, given by the Japanese people, but, in fact, from the evidence of the Japanese witness examined lately by Mr. Justice S. C. Mitra, the said image has been declared to have attached to it no importance whatever). This step was taken deliberately against my wishes and on the face of Government order, prohibiting him from doing so. The case was at last decided in my favour by the Hon'ble High Court of Judicature. After the final decision of the case I applied to the authorities for removal of the disputed image from my rest-house, where it had been temporarily placed during the trial of the criminal case by orders of the District Magistrate.

5. I also applied for the making over to me of the key of the said rest-house which had hitherto been all along in my possession, and had been taken from me by the then Magistrate, Mr. D. J. Macpherson, but it had not yet been returned to me. The rest-house being my property, I had always exercised every control over it, and appropriated the same for the purpose for which it was intended. But it has since become the permanent abode of Dharmapala's man and the seat of the disputed image. Repeated representations have been made from my side for the restoration of the former condition of affairs, but unfortunately no satisfactory orders have, up to the present, been passed to maintain my rights and privileges. I further beg to add here that the location of the Japanese image and the permanent residence of Dharmapala's men in the rest-house is materially detrimental to my pecuniary interests. It was the other day personally observed by you during your last visit to Bodh-Gaya that this man, Sumangala, though attired with yellow robe of a Buddhist Monk, does not live here for the purpose of worship, as he seldom comes over to the temple, but collects money from the pilgrims and appropriates the same to the most sinful purposes, quite derogatory to the rank of his order. Before this all Buddhist pilgrims visiting Bodh-Gaya used to come to me; I provided them with accommodations in my Buradowari and other suitable quarters, and they also, in their part, paid me according to their means; but at present my income had been greatly reduced by the unauthorised and unwarranted interference of the Singhalese agent.

6. That with a view to achieve his ends, and to strengthen his position at Bodh-Gaya, and to thwart my rights and position Dharmapala, sought to acquire a piece of land from me for the erection of another rest-house. Knowing his intention I declined to grant him any land. At last he applied to the District Board of Gaya, which body forcibly acquired the land for him and helped him to give him a *locus standi* by taking his money and building the house in the manner suggested by him. I made strong protests against the measures taken by the Gaya District Board, but they were unheeded. The District Board acquired the land from me for a party, whose motive was always against my interests. There was, in the first place, no necessity for another rest-house in Bodh-Gaya, as very few Buddhists come here, and for them the existing accommodation was more than enough. And even if there was any necessity at all, I was fully prepared and offered to pay all costs towards the construction of the house on the plan suggested by Government, provided the control and superintendence of the building was kept with me, and that it was erected for the temporary use of *bonâ fide* Buddhist pilgrims.

7. That it is with extreme regret I beg to state that the local authorities since of late did not care to listen to the just and reasonable protests and representations of a most obedient and loyal subject, and helped the cause of one, who, as I was told, had been behaving in foreign countries in a way which hardly entitles him to the good grace of Government.

8. That ceaseless attempts have been made from time to time by Dharmapala and his party to move authorities both at home and in India to oust me from my possession and control of the temple, but hitherto without effect.

9. That His Excellency Lord Curzon during his august visit to the temple on the 15th of January last was pleased to enquire from me as to certain points through Mr. Oldham, the then Collector of Gaya, and I tried my best to convince His Excellency in my native language that Buddha is worshipped by the Hindus as an incarnation of Vishnu; that the holy spot in Bodh-Gaya is one of the forty-five *vedis*, where Hindus offer *pindas* for oblation of their ancestors; that the temple and its precincts are my property, and I have been exercising every control and superintendence on them as owner and proprietor.

10. That on the 19th of January last, just after the Viceroy's return from Gaya, I was sent for by Mr. Oldham, who pressed me to make over the temple in perpetuity to Government in commemoration of the Coronation of Their Majesties, and the auspicious visit of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India to Bodh-Gaya, and to declare that the Hindus have no right to offer *pindas* at the Mahabodhi tree, nor to offer *puja* to the image inside the temple. I was quite surprised at these novel proposals, and could not but decline to accept them for the interests of the Hindu nation. Then suddenly, on the morning of the 22nd March 1903, a Commission consisting of Hon'ble Justice Sarada Charan Mitra and Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Hara Prashad Shastri came to Bodh-Gaya to enquire on certain matters under instructions from the Government of Bengal. They saw with their own eyes a large number of pilgrims from various distant parts of India, offering *pindas* at the foot of the Bodhi tree to the west of the temple and worshipping the image inside the temple. They found that the temple and its vicinity were all Hindu, and the inmates of the place were also Hindus. I beg to mention here that some of the Government officials are under a wrong impression that worship of the present image in the temple has been a recent one, i.e., since 1894. It is a well-known fact that this image was removed from this temple in the *Math*, where it had been worshipped with all rituals of Hindu worship, and installed in the great temple after the repairs had been finished, and it is still being worshipped in the same fashion. It has, however, been asserted that the image was worshipped in my temple within the *Math* before its installation in the Great temple as *Bhairo* and not as Buddha, the incarnation of Vishnu. In order to prove how mistaken and erroneous was this idea my men, as you are aware, took you to the very temple from where it was removed and pointed you out its original site just on the right hand side of another image known as *Bhairo* or Mahadeva seated on a *Brisha* or Ox and other deities all worshipped according to their respective nature and mode of worship.

I would also point out that from the photograph of the old site of the temple it is quite evident that almost half of the structure in all sites was buried under the earth by lapse of time except the entrance to the temple through which our *pujaris* (priests) and Hindu pilgrims used to pass daily to perform worship there and the other deities in the neighbourhood. Hindu worship in the temple was also reported to be carried on by foreign travellers and visitors from very ancient time.

11. The Commissioners were also fully convinced of the Hindu worship being carried on in the Bodh-Gaya temple from time immemorial; numerous documentary evidences were recorded as to the worship of Buddha by the Hindus and offering of *pindas* at the foot of the Mahabodhi tree. It is perfectly superfluous to convince you about worship as you have personally observed during your last visit to the temple a very large influx of pilgrims from all parts of India over fifteen thousand men in number each day, performing *pooja* of Buddha Bhagwan in the temple before this very image with presents of flowers and *naivedya* (sweets) and reciting *mantras* and offering *pindas* not only under the Bodhi tree but all over the compound.

12. That from various documents, records and maps and sanads granted to us by Muhammadan rulers and recognized by the British Government, which were furnished by me to the Commissioners, they were not only satisfied about my title and possession to the temple and its precincts, but also of my and my predecessors having always acted as superintendents of the temple and having exercised such acts of possession as are consistent with the attitude of an owner or proprietor over his private property and also having received all fees and offerings from pilgrims, both Hindus and Buddhists.

13. That from the evidence taken from Sumangala, Dharmapala's man, living at Bodh-Gaya, the learned Commissioners were also fully convinced that the number of Hindu pilgrims visiting Bodh-Gaya is innumerable, whereas the total number of Buddhist visitors of various parts of the Buddhistic world hardly exceed a hundred all round the year.

14. The Buddhist pilgrims are never molested, and have no cause of complaints as they are always treated with kindness and hospitality and are provided with accommodation at my own house.

15. The Commissioners having carefully observed all matters offered alternative proposals to me, quite different from those proposed by Mr. Oldham. They did not hesitate to declare me as the ground landlord of the temple and its surroundings and as manager in possession of the shrine entitled to receive all fees and offerings given them and under the *pipul* trees both to the west and north of the temple by both Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims. In addition to these terms they proposed that, in order that there may be no friction in future between the Hindu and Buddhist pilgrims, a Board of Trustees should have the management and control of the temple and its surroundings.

I am, however, at a loss to determine why the worthy Commissioners having found no fault with my management or my behaviour towards pilgrims and visitors have proposed the formation of the above Committee. Nor did they find any single instance of friction of any kind between the Hindu or Buddhist pilgrims. I beg leave to mention that instances of disputes even amongst pilgrims of common faith and between the *pandas* are not uncommon in every holy place, but, in order to prevent these, none have ever thought of adopting measures besides the existing laws of the country.

13 (sic). Lastly, that the proposals which His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has been pleased to send through you for my acceptance heads "Proposed agreement between the Government of Bengal and the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya with regard to the conduct of worship at the Bodh-Gaya Temple." I am indeed at a loss to understand the object of Government in repeatedly pressing me to be bound by an agreement with them for the conduct of worship in the temple. There are many temples in India where worship is carried on by men of different sects and religious faith, but nowhere have the Government ever desired to exercise any control or superintendence, either direct or through any Board of Committee appointed by them. This seems to be a quite new proposal of Government for the Bodh-Gaya Shrine alone without any evident reason. The management and superintendence of worship in temples by laity, as suggested in the proposed agreement, seem rather to be preposterous, as Hindu officials are not supposed to know all the varied functions of different kinds of worship of different deities in their prescribed forms as carried on in different temples, unless they were trained in the line of priesthood from their earlier days ; and which is reserved to Brahmins only. Moreover, the apprehension of Government for future dispute between the pilgrims is also not justifiable ; as Bodh-Gaya Shrine is not a singular one where men of different religious faiths come and worship, but there are many temples in India where Hindus and Muhammadans, Buddhists and Hindus, etc., perform their worship in their respective ways and forms without any friction or opposition whatever. I can cite names of many such Shrines, but a few, I suppose, will be sufficient for the purpose here :—The celebrated Hindu shrine of Hinglaj in Baluchistan beyond the Indus is owned by the Muhammadans (the present proprietress being a Muhammadan lady) where numbers of Hindu pilgrims from all parts of India visit every day without any dispute with the Muhammadans ; the renowned Durgah, or tomb, of Ata Saheb in

Ajmer, Rajputana, is daily visited by numberless Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrims from different parts of the country simultaneously ; the shrine of Mahakal on the Observatory Hills at Darjeeling is regarded as a very sacred spot by the Hindus (of all classes) and the Buddhists, each performing their worship in accordance with their own faith ; the Hindus offer sacrifices of animals here too ; the temple of Bodh in Nepal is a place of great sanctity to the Hindus and Buddhists, where both the sects perform their worship without the least friction. In short, *bonâ fide* pilgrims in all countries have no other intention than to worship their deity, and the owners and proprietors of temples or shrines consider it their principal duty to please all pilgrims of any creed visiting the place, and to earn their favourable opinion by good and friendly behaviour with them, which help them in bringing more men to them and thereby promoting their own private interests. But the object of so-called religious crusaders is quite different from that of *bonâ fide* pilgrims, *viz.*, to create certain rights over the shrine and thereby to cause a friction and disturbance.

14. I can, therefore, strongly assure you that in the Bodh-Gaya Shrine perfect toleration is observed as far as they are practicable in harmony with the broad principles of Hinduism. And hence the terms proposed by Government are materially carried on here. I, therefore, desire to repeat that, in my humble judgment, no circumstances have arisen which call for the drawing up of any such agreement, and that I cannot help apprehending that the proposed Committee, although its functions are said to be confined to the settlement of disputes between individual worshippers, and having no jurisdiction to deal with any question affecting my rights over the temple and its precincts, will be used by Dharmapala or his party for the strengthening of his position, which is avowedly hostile to me and my such rights.

14 (sic). I have gone at some length into these matters, as I have not at any time been invited to state my views of the situation at length, and I am anxious that they should be on record.

In conclusion, I and my brothers find ourselves in a position of some difficulty, and cannot comprehend how we have incurred the displeasure of our Governor so as to have lost all confidence in our ability and judgment in managing the affairs of the temple ; otherwise we do not understand why we have been repeatedly pressed to agree to terms which we cannot do without sacrificing the interests of the Hindus at large and which do not lie in my power to agree to. I and brothers shall deem it a considerable favour by your kindly taking up our cause and moving Government if we are not wrong in our apprehension on our behalf for the restoration of their kind and friendly attitude towards the Bodh-Gaya *math* and to take necessary steps to remove the grievances complained of herein and to prevent Sumangala (agent of Dharmapala in Bodh-Gaya) from continuing to reside permanently in the rest-house which is intended for the temporary residence of pilgrims only.

Memorandum by Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, dated 25th October 1903.

Submitted in original to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor.

61. *Telegram from Viceroy, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 30th October 1903.
Instructions for preparing Resolution.*

I shall be glad if your Government will prepare a Resolution on Gaya case not to be published, but to be referred to Government of India for consideration and decision. But it should contain what your Memorandum does not, namely, a precise statement of the agreement actually accepted by Mahanth, though since repudiated by him. This is vital to whole controversy. I do not understand passages in paragraphs 6 and 7 of your letter of 9th October about Government of India passing orders, and Mahanth publishing orders in papers. Any action taken by Government of India would take form of request to Secretary of State to legislate, and if assent were given, Bill would be introduced. There would be no executive orders.

62. *Letter from Government of Bengal, to Government of India (Home Department), dated 31st October 1903. Enclosing Resolution.*

I am directed to lay before the Government of India the enclosed copy of a Resolution which has been recorded by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on a subject which has for some time engaged his attention, *viz.*, the regulation of the worship before the image of Buddha in the temple at Bodh-Gaya, so as to prevent all chance of friction or dissension. The whole facts of the case are stated in the Resolution, and Mr. Bourdillon has no further remarks to offer on the matter, which is now laid before the Government of India for consideration and orders.

Enclosure of No. 62:

Resolution by the Bengal Government, (No. 4363-J.) dated 31st October 1903. Bodh-Gaya Temple.

Within the provinces ruled by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal there exists no more interesting monument of the past than the temple of Bodh-Gaya in the district of Gaya. This temple was built in the First Century B.C. on the site of a still older one founded by the Emperor Asoka 150 years before that date. Since Asoka's time it has been a place of Buddhist pilgrimage and worship; Buddhist pilgrims from China and Burma are known to have visited it up to 1331 A.D., and though the place after that date seems to have fallen under Brahminical influence, there is evidence of the fact that Buddhist worship has gone on regularly in it up to the present time. From the period of the Muhammadan conquest of India until the advent of the British the temple remained neglected, and it was only in the early part of the

Nineteenth Century that archaeologists commenced to make researches into its history ; the ruins of it were completely restored by the Bengal Government in 1884. In the neighbourhood of the temple is a *math* or monastery which traces its origin back to the middle of the Sixteenth Century of the Christian era, and which was established by the Hindu sect of *Girs*, one of the ten *Shaivite* orders of Sankara Acharya, who lived in the Eighth or Ninth Century. About the year 1727 A.D., the then Mahanth received by Royal *firman* from the Mogul Emperor Muhammad Shah, the grant of the village of Taradih, wherein the ruins of the temple stood, and thus acquired possession of the shrine. In spite of this circumstance, however, the temple has never ceased to be regarded as a Buddhist place of worship and pilgrimage.

2. In 1876 Mindoon Min, King of Burma, being anxious to carry out the work of restoration of the temple and to construct a building on the adjacent ground for the accommodation of a number of Buddhist priests who wished to settle there for the performance of religious service at the shrine, obtained the permission of the Government of India to depute a party of Burmese officials and workmen for the purpose. It soon appeared, however, that this work was being done without regard to archaeological fitness, and accordingly the Lieutenant-Governor deputed the late Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra to visit the place, and, in consequence of his report took the work of restoration into his own hands, and completed it at a considerable cost in 1884. The King of Burma's proposals had been communicated to the Mahanth, who agreed to them, offering to give for the proposed building for priests, or monastery, a site free of cost. A building was erected by the Burmese on the proposed site of the monastery ; and for years it has been kept in repair as a rest-house by Government. After the repairs done to the temple by Government, the building was placed in charge of the Magistrate of the District, a chaukidar being employed to look after it. In February 1890 the temple was brought on to the books of the Public Works Department, and was placed in charge of the Executive Engineer. An Overseer of the Public Works Department was at the same time appointed custodian, whose duty it was to take charge of all the *chatyas*, pieces of sculpture, and other relics found within the vicinity of the temple, and to draw up estimates for and carry out any repair and petty drainage works that might be necessary.

3. In 1891 the Mahabodhi Society was founded by Buddhists in Ceylon, one of its objects being to recover possession of the Bodh-Gaya Temple for the Buddhists. Early in 1893 an endeavour was made on behalf of the Society to obtain a conveyance or lease of the temple from the Mahanth ; on the failure of these negotiations Mr. Dharmapala, General Secretary of the Society, applied to the Bengal Government in April 1894 for assistance in obtaining the transfer of the temple from the Mahanth, but was told in reply that Government was not in a position to help him. In the same year Mr. Dharmapala having been entrusted when in Japan in the preceding November, with a historical image of Buddha for enshrinement in the temple, endeavoured to carry out his mandate, but having failed to obtain the permission of the Mahanth or the support of the Government, he abandoned the attempt for the time being. However, on the 25th February 1895, he proceeded, with three companions, to place the image in the temple without permission and to worship before it. This action was resented by the disciples of the Mahanth, and a disturbance ensued which resulted in the removal of the image from the temple and the expulsion of Mr. Dharmapala and his companions. A protracted criminal prosecution followed upon this incident, which ended in the conviction of certain disciples of the Mahanth in the Courts of the District Magistrate and the Sessions Judge ; but they were eventually acquitted by the High Court on appeal on the ground that it was not

established that the complainant and his associates were lawfully engaged in religious worship when they were disturbed, and that the accused, therefore, in causing the disturbance had committed no offence under Section 296, Indian Penal Code.

4. The question of the Mahanth's position in regard to the temple was discussed at great length in the various judgments recorded in the course of these proceedings. The High Court found that while on the one hand the temple was a place of Buddhist worship, on the other hand it was in the possession of the Mahanth, and that he was the sole superintendent. As regards the treatment of the temple as a Hindu shrine, the judgment of the District Magistrate showed that in 1811 A D. there was no Hindu worship *inside* the building. It was, moreover, quite clear from the evidence taken in the case, that the Temple had never been converted into a Hindu temple in the sense that Hindu idols have been enshrined or that orthodox Hindu worship has been carried on in it.

5. The ill-advised proceedings of Mr. Dharmapala, far from achieving the objects which he had in view, led the Mahanth and his disciples to assume in reprisal a more hostile attitude to assert with an insistence hitherto unknown their claim to the Temple as a Hindu shrine, and to give more prominence to the worship carried on there. During the year 1895 and the early part of 1896 the Mahanth attempted, but without success, to induce the Government of Bengal to remove the Japanese image from the neighbourhood of the Temple. In reply to all his applications it was said that while Government would maintain an attitude of strict impartiality on all questions affecting the shrine, it was determined to discourage all attempt from whatever quarter which might lead to a breach of the peace.

6. In July 1896 the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Alexander Mackenzie, visited Gaya on tour, and, after granting an interview, both to Mr. Dharmapala and the Mahanth, impressed on them the necessity for a compromise suggesting that the Japanese image might be placed in the Temple, and that the worship of Buddha should be conducted in accordance with Buddhist ritual. Subsequently certain petitions which had been received by Government from both Buddhists and Hindus were forwarded to the Commissioner of Patna for opinion. In reply, the Commissioner reported that he had not been able to carry out the arrangements suggested by His Honour towards effecting a compromise, and that the situation remained practically unchanged.

7. Between 1897 and 1902 several applications from various members of the Buddhist community were received by the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, all praying for the concession of further privileges for Buddhists at Bodh-Gaya. Some of these amounted to a request that the shrine should be acquired and made over to the Buddhists. Sir John Woodburn, while sympathising with the feelings and aspirations of the Buddhist community, was of opinion that to acquire the Temple for the exclusive benefit of one sect of religious worshippers was not acquisition for a public purpose within the meaning of the Land Acquisition Act. In his opinion also very strong arguments would be required to justify a proposal to deprive the Mahanth of his proprietary rights by legislation, and these did not seem to him to exist.

8. Such was the situation of affairs at the end of 1902. It was abundantly clear that the Temple of Bodh-Gaya was originally a Buddhist shrine of great antiquity, although for some time the building, together with the lands of the village in which it stands, have been in the possession of a Hindu Mahanth; that the old Temple had fallen into complete ruin, and would soon have disappeared had not the Government of Bengal, acting upon the initiative

of the Buddhist King of Burma, spent a large sum upon the restoration of it ; that in consequence they maintained a custodian for the care of the building, although the Hindu Mahanth was allowed to contrl the worship and to receive the offerings of pilgrims, whether Buddhist or Hindu ; that the worship performed in the Temple by Hindus was of a spurious and unorthodox character ; and that it was a cult of very recent growth. It also appeared that since the misguided attempts of certain members of the Buddhist faith to place by force an image of Buddha in the Temple and thus assert and establish a right to the building, efforts had been made by way of retaliation to push and extend the Hindu worship, thus of necessity giving pain and offence to many devout Buddhists. The proceedings in the Criminal Courts in 1895 had produced much irritation and bitterness of feeling between the rival sects, and while the Buddhists have continued to press for larger privileges and to express their dissatisfaction with the condition of affairs which they find at Bodh-Gaya, the Mahanth and his disciples have assumed a more hostile and less tolerant attitude, and have attempted unceasingly to assert their authority and to give an increasingly Hindu character to the worship and to the image of Buddha which the Temple contains. Such a situation contained all the elements of rupture and unrest—forces which were controlled only by the unremitting vigilance of the local officers of Government.

9. In January 1903 His Excellency the Viceroy visited Bodh-Gaya, having informed himself of the situation then existing, partly from papers already in his possession, and partly from a memorandum prepared for him by the Lieutenant-Governor. Lord Curzon viewed with vexation and regret the measures which had been taken by the Mahanth to cconvert the ancient Buddhist shrine into a place of Hindu worship, and appreciated to the full the pain which such proceedings must cause to the Buddhist pilgrims who visit this sacred spot from all parts of the East. He communicated his views to the Mahanth, and made it clear to him that his attitude was not acceptable to Government, and should be abandoned.

10. Subsequently, the Collector proposed to the Mahanth that he should come to an agreement on the following lines : "The main Temple would become an exclusively Buddhist shrine. There would probably be no objection to Hindus visiting it, but they would not conduct worship there, or decorate the image, or burn lights or spill *ghi* before it. The shrine would not be handed over to the Buddhists as their property, since the Government had no desire to oust one proprietor merely in order to instal another, but would be held in trust by Government, who would issue regulations for the proper conduct of Buddhist worship there. The Bo-tree against the west outer wall of the shrine would similarly be recognised as a place of peculiarly Buddhist sanctity, though there would be no objection to Hindus visiting (but not making offerings to) it. On the other hand the larger Bo-tree on the platform would be reserved as an object of Hindu devotion. The remainder of the enclosure would remain as it now is, open to all parties ; and the Mahanth would continue as the ground-landlord to draw the fees of all visitors, whether Hindu or Buddhist." The Mahanth, after first giving a qualified assent to these suggestions, afterwards withdrew, and absolutely refused to consider such an agreement.

11. The question of the Bodh-Gaya Temple is one in which Mr. Bourdillon had long felt a strong personal interest, and in March 1903, he took up the matter on the ground that the present situation was intolerable, and that it was essential to bring it to an end. The question of the proper control of the worship at Bodh-Gaya is by no means a small one : the Buddhist religion is professed by a very large proportion of the inhabitants of the world, and the shrine Bodh-Gaya is to them a place of peculiar sanctity. In the provinces under the Lieutenant-

Governor of Bengal there are a far larger number of Buddhists than can be found in the territories of any other Government or Administration in British India, and in His Honour's opinion it is impossible for the Bengal Government any longer to acquiesce in the continuance of conditions which constitute a reproach to its administration, which are repugnant to a large section of the population under its control, and the removal of which with proper limitations would not, as Mr. Bourdillon believes, be seriously objected to by any considerable section of the public. Accordingly after a careful consideration of all the circumstances His Honour decided to depute to Bodh-Gaya an informal Commission of two native gentlemen of well-known position, learning, and authority in order to clear up doubtful points, and—if they found that the views of the Government of Bengal were reasonable and its conclusions founded on facts—to use their influence with the Mahanth to induce him to comply with the proposals of that Government. The gentlemen selected were the Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. C. Mitra, Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, and Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prashad Shastri, Principal of the Sanskrit College.

12. The duties of the Commissioners were defined as follows in a memorandum drawn up by the Lieutenant-Governor for their guidance on the 16th March:—

"Their business will be to ascertain with accuracy the position and claims of the Mahanth and the facts as regards the Hindu worship of the great image of Buddha, *i.e.*, when it was first commenced, how far it has been regularly or continuously performed, and by what class of persons, and so on. They might also at the same time make such references as may be thought necessary to the Pundits at Benares, Nadia or elsewhere in order to ascertain whether such worship as is carried on is genuine, orthodox, and worthy of commendation.

The Commissioners will of course visit the shrine and see the actual condition of affairs there, and they should interview the Mahanth at the Collector's house or at some place other than Bodh-Gaya itself. With the assistance of the Collector they will send for and examine any one whose evidence they may desire to take. They should put again before the Mahanth the agreement which was suggested to him by Mr. Oldham, and should ascertain why he receded from it. He should be reminded that the proposal embodied in it was generous in its recognition of his claims and in the small demand which it made upon his good will, that it should not be lightly refused, and that if refused it might not be renewed; if he were to show any disposition to accede to it the fact should be reported to Government. On the other hand, in the event of the Mahanth proving refractory, the Commissioners should then advise as to the steps to be taken; they should make a pronouncement upon the question of ritual, and should consider and advise whether the ownership of the shrine and the right to control its worship should be tested by a private suit in a court of law."

13. The Commissioners proceeded to Gaya on the 20th March, and there met Mr. C. E. A. Oldham, who, until a few days before, had been Collector of the District. They visited Bodh-Gaya, examined many witnesses, and held long interviews with the Mahanth himself and his disciples and advisers. Finally they submitted their report, which, owing to delays in the Press, did not reach the Lieutenant-Governor till the middle of June.

14. They found that the Temple was undoubtedly of Buddhist origin, that it has been revered and visited by Buddhist pilgrims for 2,000 years, but that the ruins of it had passed into the possession of a Hindu Mahanth under the circumstances described in paragraph 1 of this Resolution, so that the Mahanth is in *de facto* possession of the Temple and its surroundings, and has always acted as the Superintendent of it. As regards the question of worship, they found that the majority of orthodox Hindus, whom they examined considered that the mere sight of Buddha's image is sinful to a Hindu, and that the old Shastras do not warrant the worship of any such image; that there was no proper or regular worship of the image before 1894, but that there was evidence of regular and continuous worship of some sort since that date; though they were not satisfied that such worship is proper Hindu worship. On these premises

they recommended that Hindu worship even though of this spurious kind should not be prohibited, they urged that both Hindus and Buddhists should be allowed freedom of worship, but they pressed that the worship of both should be conducted in such a fashion that neither should offend the other. They insisted on the necessity of supervision by Government in order to prevent friction and dissension, and they recommended that the Mahanth should be required to sign an agreement by which the superintendence and control of the worship at the Mahabodhi Temple and under the Bodhi trees at Bodh-Gaya should be vested in an independent Board, consisting of three or five respectable gentlemen, with power to finally settle all questions as to disputed rituals and forms of worship. Finally they recommended that if the Mahanth refused to sign a deed in the above terms, legislation should be undertaken to give effect to their proposals.

15. These conclusions were unofficially made known to the Mahanth and his advisers at Gaya, and the draft of an agreement on the above lines was also shown to him. On the 30th March, the Commissioners personally communicated their conclusions to the Lieutenant-Governor in anticipation of the publication of their report ; and they showed to him at the same time the draft of an agreement which the Mahanth had propounded as one which he might perhaps agree to sign. On the 5th April Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, C.S.I., President of the British Indian Association, and an intimate friend of the Mahanth, called on Mr. Bourdillon and offered his services as a mediator ; as he was believed to have much influence with the Mahanth, and as his intervention was approved and recommended by the Commissioners his offer was accepted. At the same time he produced the draft of an agreement which was practically the same as that which had been shown to His Honour on the 30th March and was to the following effect :—

- “ (1) The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya is declared to be the landlord of the Mahabodhi Temple and the surroundings ; and to be the *d. facto* owner in possession.
- “ (2) The Mahanth is entitled to all fees and offering given at the Temple, and its surroundings and under the fig trees.
- “ (3) Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great Temple, but the worship by one community shall be conducted in such a way as not to give offence to the other.
- “ (4) The Hindus are declared entitled to offer *Pindas* under the Mahabodhi Tree adjoining the west of the Temple, as well as north of the Temple.
- “ (5) In order that the above terms relating to the right of worship by the Hindus and the Buddhists may be carried out to the satisfaction of both communities, and that there may be no friction in future, it is stipulated that all questions arising between the two classes shall be referred to a special Board of five, consisting of the following persons : a Senior Judicial Officer and the Senior Deputy Magistrate of Gaya, *ex officio*, who must be Hindu by birth, persuasion and observances, a Buddhist and a Hindu to be nominated by the Government, and lastly a Hindu nominated by the Mahanth. The decisions of the Board on all questions shall be binding on both the communities and upon the Mahanth.”

Some amendments in this draft were suggested by His Honour, and the Raja promised to place them before the Mahanth. On the 13th April the Raja had a second interview with the Lieutenant-Governor at which the question of an agreement was again discussed, and Mr. Bourdillon was then informed that the Mahanth would not accept the amendments which had been made in his original draft, nor another draft agreement which had been prepared by Mr. Justice Mitra.

16. The Mahanth was then invited to come to Calcutta and a conference was held there on the 19th April at which were present the Mahanth with his legal advisers, Mr. Cotton, Barrister-at-law, and Babu Aghore Nath Pal, Pleader, also Mr. Justice Mitra, and Raja Peary

Mohun Mukerjea. A letter from the Raja, dated the 19th April, reporting the result of that conference is appended to this resolution; it shows that the Mahanth deprecated the appointment of a Board, but paragraph 2 contains the following passage:—

“The Mahanth on his part authorises Mr. Cotton and myself to say that he undertakes not to place the *tilak* mark on the image, such *tilak* mark being a distinctive feature of Hindu worship, and he goes further and agrees, if any large body of Buddhists so desire it, to remove the clothing from the image from time to time for the purpose of their worship.”

Mr. Justice Mitra, in writing to the Lieutenant-Governor on the 20th April, gave the following account of the Mahanth's views:—

“The Mahanth has agreed not to put on the forehead of the image of Buddha any *tilak* mark, and not to keep the image covered with cloth. He is prepared to give an undertaking to this effect. He is not unwilling to refer all other questions of disputed ritual to a Committee as suggested, and to abide by the Committee's decision.”

17. The Lieutenant-Governor replied to Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea on the 23rd April expressing his satisfaction at the progress made in the negotiations, but pressing that the agreement should contain a stipulation that the image should not be clothed, and urging that the Mahanth should agree to the appointment of an Independent Committee to decide disputed questions of ritual and conduct. On the 29th April the Raja, in a letter which forms Appendix B to this Resolution, reported to the Lieutenant-Governor the result of a further interview with the Mahanth, from which it appeared that the latter drew back from his previous position on the ground that he had no authority to sign an agreement. His new attitude was summed up by the Raja in the following words:—

“It is on these grounds that he feels himself unable to undertake to sign the agreement shown by me to Your Honour as his, and which, as a matter of fact, was drafted by his Pleader at Gaya.”

This is the draft agreement quoted in paragraph 15 above. It is obvious that at this point the negotiations completely broke down, inasmuch as on or before the 29th April the Mahanth altogether refused to sign any agreement, not even that which he had himself propounded to the Commissioners at Gaya, and which had been shown as his to the Lieutenant-Governor by Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, on the 5th and 13th April.

18. Further negotiations followed upon this refusal of the Mahanth to sign an agreement with the object of inducing him to resume again at least the attitude which he had at first assumed, and eventually a draft agreement was propounded to him as the least that the Bengal Government was prepared to accept, of which the details are as follows:—

A—The Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya agrees to the following terms:—

- (1) Both Buddhists and Hindus are entitled to worship the image in the great Temple at Bodh-Gaya, but the worship by one community shall be conducted in such a way as not to offend the other: in particular the *tilak* mark shall not be placed upon the image, nor shall it be painted, and all clothing shall be removed from the image if at any time this shall be required by a reasonable number of Buddhist worshippers.
- (2) The Hindus are entitled to offer *pindas* under the Bodhi-tree adjoining the west of the Temple, as well as under that to the north of it, but in worshipping the trees nothing shall be done to offend the Buddhists. Similarly the Buddhists in worshipping the trees shall do nothing to offend the religious feelings of the Hindus.

(3) In order that the above terms may be carried out to the satisfaction of all parties and to settle all points of dispute, there shall be a Committee consisting of three persons, *viz.*, the senior Hindu Judge or Magistrate in Gaya, who shall be the Chairman, a Hindu nominee of the Mahanth, and a resident of Gaya (Hindu or Buddhist) to be nominated by the Lieutenant-Governor.

(4) This Committee shall have no jurisdiction to deal with any question affecting the rights of the Mahanth over the temple and its precincts, and shall deal only with each disputed case as it arises: and, save as below, its ruling shall apply only to that case. Each ruling of the Committee shall be reported by it through the Collector to the Commissioner of the Division. If the latter registers and takes note of the decision, it will apply only to the case which has elicited it. If the Commissioner formally confirms the decision, it will become a ruling for the decision of similar cases in future.

B—On the other hand, if these terms are accepted by the Mahanth, the Bengal Government agrees :—

(5) That for the purposes of this agreement, and without prejudice, the Mahanth for the time being is declared to be the landlord of the Mahabodhi Temple and its surroundings, and to be the Manager in possession.

(6) That he is entitled to receive all the fees and offerings given at the temple and under both Bodhi-trees.

It will be seen that in this agreement there are no important additions to the terms originally included in the draft agreement propounded by the Mahanth and given in paragraph 15 above, except that they definitely provide that the *tilak* mark shall not be painted upon the great image of Buddha and that clothing shall be removed from it when required by a reasonable number of Buddhist worshippers: also the position and powers of the Committee are defined with exactness and there is a slight change in the constitution of it.

19. Efforts were made to induce the Mahanth to come to Darjeeling in June to confer with Mr. Bourdillon and to Bankipore in July to meet him when on tour, but on each occasion he excused himself on the ground of ill-health, a plea which is believed to have been valid. Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, however, visited Darjeeling in the beginning of June, and it was made clear to him that the Lieutenant-Governor would insist on an answer being given by the Mahanth to the Government proposals, and that his own best interests lay in inducing the Mahanth to acquiesce in the proposed agreement. The Raja went to Gaya on two occasions, and has represented that he has used every endeavour to persuade the Mahanth to accept the terms offered by Government. Mr. Cotton has also assured His Honour that he has thrown his own weight into the same scale. So far there has been no result, and the Mahanth resolutely refuses to sign any agreement, or to come to any terms with the Bengal Government.

20. In the circumstances above described it is manifest that the negotiations for an amicable arrangement for the future control of the worship at the Bodh-Gaya Temple in accordance with the views of the Lieutenant-Governor have completely failed; the patience and the powers of the Bengal Government are alike exhausted, and the matter must be laid before a higher authority in order that they may consider what steps should now be taken to give effect to what Mr. Bourdillon regards as an imperative reform. Before doing so it may be as well to review the situation once more and to sum up the arguments in favour of interference

21. That Bodh-Gaya is a Buddhist Shrine built by Buddhists in commemoration of one of the most sacred incidents in the life of their master, intended for the accommodation of Buddhist images and Buddhist worship, and treated as the object of Buddhist pilgrimage from all parts of the Eastern world, with only occasional interruptions, for a period of 2,000 years, does not admit of dispute. That no question of Hindu ownership was ever created till 1727 A.D., when the grant of the village in which the shrine stands was for the first time made by a Mogul Sovereign to the then Mahanth is indisputable. That the rights of possession or control then acquired were not till quite recent years exercised, so as to convert a Buddhist into a Hindu place of worship or to introduce Hindu priests or rites into the shrine, is also admitted. In the passage of time, the place has acquired an interest to Hindu devotees, the Bodhi-tree being one of the forty-five sacred spots included in the Gaya tour of pilgrimage, and this interest has developed into something approaching a right, owing to the proprietary advantages enjoyed by the Mahanth, and to the fact that until latterly no one has come forward to contest their validity, and no effort has been made to determine their legal character or limitations.

22. What the proprietary rights of the Mahanth are must therefore be inferred from his own acts and those of other persons in which he has acquiesced. On the one hand, the rights of the Mahanth which rests in the main upon prescription, have suffered frequent derogation at his own hands. For the greater part of the period since the grant of the *firman* in 1727, there does not seem to have been any definite assertion of his authority over the shrine, the reason no doubt being that it was little more than a dilapidated ruin. Buddhist pilgrims were at liberty to come from Burma and to install their images in the shrine : they went so far as to conduct restoration on a large scale. Even on the last occasion in 1877, when they sought the consent of the Mahanth to such operations, he did not, in according it, lay any claim to proprietary rights over the temple itself. Until the purchase by him within the last ten years of the village adjoining his own, his right as ground landlord to the entire temple enclosure was itself open to dispute. As regards the interior of the temple, till eight years ago it not only had no interest for the Hindus, but entrance into it or worship there was actually regarded as a profane or unholy act—so much so that a staircase had actually been built outside the shrine so that Hindu pilgrims without entering the temple itself might visit the Bo-tree, which at that time was planted on a higher terrace. The right of the Mahanth to receive all fees for admission to the sacred enclosure, whether from Buddhists or Hindus, seems throughout to have been accepted ; and indeed this followed from his proprietary right over the soil. But the ownership of the temple building seems never to have been raised as an issue by itself ; not until the Singhalese Buddhist threw down the challenge some ten years ago does the Mahanth appear to have put forward any positive claim to the temple as a place of Hindu worship and then only to have done so partly in retaliation for the aggressive attitude of his opponents, partly in order to strengthen his own claim to ownership, should these be formally contested.

23. On the other hand, the Bengal Government have in recent years exercised powers of supervision and control at Bodh-Gaya which seem to be incompatible with the complete recognition of the rights of the Mahanth. When the great work of restoration was undertaken by Sir Ashley Eden that was finished in 1884, there do not seem to have been any formal communications with the Mahanth, or any official application for, or receipt of, his consent. All that is available is the statement of Mr. Beglar (the architect) that he received verbal instructions to work harmoniously with the Mahanth (as indeed he seems to have done throughout). Later on, the Bengal Government placed the building, which they had thus restored at a total cost of two lakhs, under the Public Works Department, in charge of an

Executive Engineer, and appointed an Overseer of the Public Works Department as custodian of the temple. They have since undertaken and paid for such annual repairs as have been found necessary. They also keep in repair the Burmese rest-house (built originally from Burmese subscriptions), and they decided in 1896 that the Mahanth had no authority over it. All these acts, though far from amounting to a repudiation of the alleged rights of the Mahanth, are yet not easily reconcilable with their full admission, and seem to involve the gradual assertion of a co-ordinate authority, with power if not to dispose of the shrine or to expropriate the Mahanth, at least to superintend his superintendence and to control his control.

24. From all these premises certain conclusions clearly emerge. The first is that the Bodh-Gaya Temple is undoubtedly an ancient Buddhist Shrine which ought in justice to belong to the Buddhists. Secondly, that it has for some time been in Hindu hands, but that it is only for the last few years that some kind of Hindu worship has been conducted there. Thirdly, that this worship is of an impure, unorthodox, and spurious character, so that it is not regarded seriously by the majority of the orthodox Hindus of the locality who have been consulted on the subject. Fourthly, that the manner in which the Hindu worship is conducted and the condition of the image itself are offensive and revolting to the Buddhists who come to visit the shrine. Lastly, that it is extremely desirable that this state of affairs should be brought to an end, and that the worship in the temple should be regulated according to clear and simple rules of toleration, subject to the control of an independent Committee which would decide all disputes.

25. The Bengal Government do not desire to deprive the Mahanth of the possession of the temple in order to make it over to the Buddhists nor do they propose to take it out of his hands and manage it themselves or to interfere in any way with the profits which he derives from it, but they do intend to make it possible for worship to be conducted in the temple in such a way as to offend neither Buddhists nor Hindus, and with this end in view to appoint an independent tribunal for deciding disputes which may occur on this and similar points. In exchange for the Mahanth's compliance with these conditions the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to recognize his *de facto* possession and managership and formally to declare his right to appropriate the fees and offerings of the pilgrims. The proposals made to the Mahanth in order to give effect to these views were studiously moderate, and in the protracted negotiations which have taken place, every point has been conceded to him which could be granted without sacrificing an essential or violating a principle. The Mahanth himself, after at first showing willingness to accept an agreement on reasonable lines, has since refused to accept the terms offered, to abide by his original suggestions, or to execute any agreement whatever. The Bengal Government have come to an end of their resources, and under the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor the whole case must now be laid before the Government of India for their consideration and orders.

APPENDIX A.

Letter (Extract) from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 19th April 1903.

In accordance with your request I beg to inform Your Honour of the result of the conference held to-day at the British Indian Association rooms in connection with the matter of the Bodh-Gaya Temple. There were present the Hon'ble Justice S. C. Mitra, myself, Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, the Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya and Babu Aghore Nath Pal who accompanied the Mahanth.

2. Mr. Cotton and myself pointed out to the Judge that as far as the relations between the Mahanth and the large majority of the Buddhist visitors and pilgrims to the Temple were concerned, the utmost friendliness and good feeling have always existed, that the Mahabodhi Society which has been at the bottom of the present agitation from the beginning does not represent the Buddhist community of the world in any sense, and has for its avowed object the ousting of the Mahanth from the Temple, and that such being the case and there being no dispute between Hindus and Buddhists, to compose the establishment of any Board of Trustees would only lead to a series of dissensions; for the Mahabodhi Society would be encouraged to bring forward any number of pretended claims for decision and constant friction and ill-feeling will ensue.

3. The Judge thinks that there should be such a Board for "the settlement of future disputes which may be occasioned by the action of fanatics of the type of Dharmapala," but we have submitted to him and submit also to Your Honour that Government will be perfectly well able in the future, as they have done in the past, to check and control any lawlessness at the Temple and that the existence of any Board will create rather than prevent disputes; for rightly or wrongly Dharmapala will assume that the Board has been formed for his benefit and that the Government majority on the Board will accede to his wishes as much as possible.

4. The Mahanth on his part authorises Mr. Cotton and myself to say that he undertakes not to place *tilak* mark on the image, such *tilak* mark being a distinctive feature of Hindu worship, and he goes further and agrees, if any large body of Buddhists so require it, to remove the clothing from the image from time to time for the purpose of their worship. Some of the Buddhist Princes, it should be mentioned, have clothed the image in the Mahanth's presence and have asked him on such occasions not to remove the clothing.

APPENDIX B.

*Letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjea, to Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 29th April 1903.
(Enclosure of No. 24.)*

63. Letter (Extract) from Mr. J. A. Bourdillon, dated 1st November 1903, submitting Resolution.

About the Bodh-Gaya case. I have spent some time to-day in converting my Memorandum into a Resolution, and will send it up as soon as possible. I am dating the Resolution to-day (? 31st October), as I am quite willing to accept all responsibility for it.

[At this stage Mr. J. A. Bourdillon vacated the post of Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and was succeeded by Sir A. Fraser. The latter requested that no action should be taken until he had time to familiarise himself with the subject. In the course of the winter of 1903-04 he proposed to visit Bodh-Gaya in the spring, and to pursue the matter by private negotiations with the Mahanth. These suggestions were accepted by the Viceroy who, in placing the correspondence on official record in the Home Department, wrote the following note.]

64. Note by Viceroy on Home Department file, dated 29th April 1904.

I have decided to place on official record the following private correspondence between Mr. Bourdillon (then Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal) and myself about the Bodh-Gaya Temple, because it gives the accurate history of a case which the necessity may arise for dealing with officially at a later date, and because without it the official Resolution recorded by Mr. Bourdillon before he left Bengal, and contained in our Proceedings, January 1904, No. 15, cannot be thoroughly understood.

It will be seen from the history as recorded in this correspondence, that, in the face of every conceivable obstruction, we had gradually overcome every difficulty, conciliated every opponent, and were on the brink of a satisfactory solution—when we were once again overthrown by the timidity and *mala fides* of the Mahanth, a man who is equally destitute of nerve and honour.

A variety of circumstances decided me not to pursue the case for the moment, as I should otherwise certainly have done. In the first place, Mr. Bourdillon, who had conducted it with the keenest personal interest and enthusiasm, had just left Bengal, and his successor could not straight away be expected to possess either the interest or the knowledge.

Secondly, we were likely at the beginning of the present year to find ourselves (as we did) involved in so many sources of somewhat sharp disagreement with

the native community in Bengal (arising out of our Universities Bill, the Official Secrets Bill, and the suggested Partition of Bengal)—that it did not seem to be worth while to add another to their number, or to provide a possible handle for a religious agitation.

Thirdly, it struck me as possible that the Mahanth, frightened at the correspondence, might, in spite of his obstinacy, concede in practice the greater part of what we had asked for, so that the need for interference might, after all, not arise.

Fourthly, Sir A. Fraser said that he would prefer to postpone dealing with the case until he had himself been to Gaya, seen the Mahanth, and formed a personal opinion about it.

That is the present position. I think that, when the correspondence is printed, a copy of it, with this Note, should be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor for confidential record in the papers of his Government.

65. *Letter (Extract) from Lord Curzon (in England), to J. O. Miller, Esq., C.S.I., Private Secretary to Viceroy, dated June 1904. Restoration of the stone pillars of the Asoka railing.*

When I was at Bodh-Gaya in January 1903, I found that a large number of the stone pillars of the Asoka railing (part of which has been re-erected round the base of the shrine), 15 or 16 I think in number, were concealed inside the *math* or monastery of the Mahanth, where they were used to support a verandah, round a squalid interior court. I got the Mahanth in the presence of Mr. Oldham, the Collector, and Mr. Hare, the Commissioner, to promise to surrender these without delay—for restoration to their original position. I recorded a note upon the matter at the time, a copy of which I think must have been sent to the Revenue and Agriculture Department for Mr. Marshall. Since then I have heard nothing more about it. Mr. Oldham has left Gaya. We drifted into a prolonged controversy with the Mahanth about the ritual of the shrine; and it strikes me as conceivable that the pillars may have been forgotten.

Note (Extract) by Viceroy, dated 16th January 1903, referred to in above letter.

This conversation had such a disquieting effect upon the Mahanth that, during the remainder of my visit, he adopted an attitude of extraordinary humility, and acceded to requests which he has always hitherto rejected without qualification. I expressed surprise at the

neglected condition and site of the circular Vajrasan Throne, which I found lying under a sort of shed in one of the smaller buildings outside the enclosure, with the exquisite carvings on its surface partly obliterated and partly destroyed by the constant spilling of water upon it by Hindus. I asked that it should be brought down and properly cared for, and housed in a suitable building on the main platform. To this the Mahanth at once agreed. Later on, when I visited his own *math* or monastery, I noticed the 32 missing pillars of the Asoka railing utilised as pillars to support an arcade or verandah in the interior. Upon my expressing the utmost surprise at their conversion to such a purpose, when their manifest place was on the platform round the temple, and my confident hope that the Mahanth would not oppose their restoration, he at once gave way, and agreed to a concession which Mr. Oldham informed me that he had always and repeatedly refused. All he asked was that I would give him a written statement to the effect that he had so restored the pillars at my request.

66. Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 3rd August 1904. Removal of stone pillars to the court of the temple.

With reference to your enquiry as to what had been done at the Gaya temple, I have heard from Bengal that the Mahanth revoked all the promises which he made to Lord Curzon soon after His Excellency left Gaya. The Vajrasan stone is still where it was and the pillars still support a verandah in the Mahanth's monastery. The temple was visited by the Lieutenant-Governor in November last, but the Mahanth made no promise then or since to allow the removal of this stone or the pillars to the court of the temple.

In the circumstances, it seems doubtful if anything more can be done, unless a compulsory purchase of the pillars, etc., in the monastery can be effected under section 10 of the Monuments Act. The monastery itself is hardly a religious building within the meaning of the Act. I should be glad to hear from you, if you consider that the matter should be pressed further.

67. Note by Viceroy on Home Department file, dated 22nd May 1905.

I have read Mr. Marshall's scholarly note with much interest, and think that the principles that he has laid down to guide the ignorant provincial officers and engineers should be most useful. I have made a few marginal observations.

In Bengal it is all a question of supervision. When the Viceroy or Lieutenant-Governor comes round, English engineers spring up in every direction and there is a great affectation of zeal and industry. As soon as he has disappeared, the

Engineer vanishes, and an eager but incompetent native subordinate is left to do practically what he pleases, often with deplorable results. The notes on Gaur and Pandua show that my warnings in this respect when I went there have fallen largely on deaf ears and that the same errors are being perpetrated.

Bodh-Gaya.—I am rather surprised to see Mr. Marshall defend Mr. Beglar's restoration of the main temple. He converted an interesting ruin into a spick and span new building, in many parts with complete disregard to the original form. The arrangement of figures, etc., in the niches is purely conjectural, and in many places absurd. The true measure of Mr. Beglar's achievements can be ascertained only by a careful study of the old photographs.

I spoke to Sir A. Fraser this winter about the recovery of the rail-pillars inside the *math* of the Mahanth. The matter has not been forgotten. The new alternative pillars have been in part prepared and some are, I believe, *in situ*. The Mahanth is both timid, obstinate, and mendacious. But he will be held to his promise, so far as I can secure this. I will again mention the Vajrasan throne.

68. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. H. L. Fraser; K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated 23rd May 1905. Removal of Asoka rail-pillars and Vajrasan throne.*

I have been reading a note from Marshall on the restorations being still carried out in the Bengal monuments. You will have a copy of it sent to you almost immediately. Some of his statements rather distress me, showing that the same mistakes of carelessness and ignorance are being committed as I found and recorded when I went to Gaur and Pandua in February 1902. The English officers and engineers will not trouble themselves about the matter, and petty native subordinates are left to the unfettered exercise of their own ingenuity and imagination.

Marshall mentions that when he visited Gaya, the Mahanth at first denied altogether his promise to me about the removal of the Asoka rail-pillars, now inside his monastery, and about the Vajrasan throne : and then tried to evade it.

Two and a half years have now elapsed since the promise was given and I think that it should be finally redeemed.

I have an idea that you told me in Calcutta that new pillars were being made to take the place of the originals. Will you kindly procure a report on the matter and push it through to a conclusion ?

The Vajrasan throne is a beautiful sculptured circular slab. I found it lying in a shed outside the main enclosure at Bodh-Gaya ; unprotected and spoiled by

the action of Hindu visitors who pour water upon it and otherwise deface it. The Mahanth agreed at once that it should be brought down and housed somewhere where it can be properly looked after—on the main platform. Nothing has, I believe, been done, although 2½ years have elapsed. I should be grateful if you could issue orders also in this respect to the Collector.

69. *Letter from Sir A. H. L. Fraser, dated 22nd June 1905. Communication to Mr. Lyon of Mr. Marshall's note on Bodh-Gaya with Viceroy's remarks about it.*

I sent Marshall's note* on Bodh-Gaya and Your Excellency's remarks about it to Lyon, as soon as I received the former.

* Not printed.

It did not come to me until the end of last

week. Lyon is going to Bodh-Gaya shortly (as soon as the rain falls); and I am going to spend nearly a month in Behar in July. Marshall, I fancy, knew nothing of what Lyon was doing. Travelling Heads of Departments should talk over matters with local officers.

70. *Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir A. H. L. Fraser, dated 24th July 1905. Mahanth of Bodh-Gaya.*

While you are in Behar I hope you will not forget Gaya and the Mahanth. I actually saw a strong article, in the *Bengalee*, of all papers the other day (which I send you) in which the obstinacy and misdeeds of that individual were publicly bewailed. Now I think may be the time to strike.

71. *Letter (Extract) from Sir A. H. L. Fraser, dated 2nd August 1905. Removal of Asoka pillars and Vajrasan throne.*

I gave Bodh-Gaya some attention when in Patna. We have been greatly troubled by that intolerable person, the Dharmapala. He has done all he can to cause friction and ill-feeling; and the Mahanth's obstinacy has been mainly, I believe, due to this cause. Thanks, however, to the patient tact and firmness of Lyon and Donald (the new Collector), I have some real progress to report.

The Mahanth has now actually in his compound pillars sufficient in number to replace all the Asoka pillars (22), which have to be removed to the temple grounds. These pillars are in the rough and require dressing. The Mahanth made difficulty about getting stone-cutters to dress them and about removing them without injury to his own building. Now, however, he has agreed to make over the whole work to us, to be carried out at his cost. It has been made over to the custodian (our representative) who works under the Collector's orders.

The work of dressing the pillars has commenced ; and a large addition to the staff of stone-cutters has been secured, who work from to-day. Four pillars will be fully completed by the end of this week. They will replace the four Asoka pillars in the small building detached from the main building. The remaining pillars will be completed within three weeks from now ; and I expect that all the Asoka pillars will be removed from their present site in five weeks.

We have all the necessary plant, in the shape of jacks, winches, etc., on the site, sufficient both for the removal of the pillars and for their erection in the temple grounds. These and the six pillars from Babrour (which are now at this site) can be erected as soon after about five weeks, as we can get the advice of the Director General of Archæology as to their proper place. That will be applied for direct by the Collector.

The Vajrasan stone is said to be badly cracked. This has only now been discovered. It would not do to have it break on our hands. The Mahanth has agreed to the District Engineer taking all necessary steps for its transfer. But the District Engineer is first to examine it carefully, and then report whether—and how—it can safely be moved.

As to the clothing and marking of the image, I believe that we shall succeed in getting the Mahanth to listen to reason. I very nearly had succeeded, when Mr. Cotton (Barrister, Calcutta) intervened. I declined to answer his letter, and let the matter drop for the time, appearing, however, to continue my communications with the Mahanth. I deem it best not to press this too strongly until I have the pillars and stone safely located in their proper place. Then, with the aid of the Honourable Mr. Justice Sarada Mitra, I expect to carry the matter through.

72. Letter from R. Nathan, Esq., C.I.E., to Sir A. H. L. Fraser, dated 23rd November 1905. Removal of Asoka pillars and Vajrasan throne.

Lord Curzon had meant to speak to you at Agra about Bodh-Gaya and that dreadful Mahanth.

Marshall said something to him about the removal of the first four Asoka pillars from the *math* having been followed by four deaths, and the consequent suspension of all work. Lord Curzon hopes very much that the continuation of the work will not be stopped by such an accident, if it be true, or by the superstitious uses which are certain to be made of it.

Then there is the question of the unfortunate Vajrasan stone which we are always going to rescue, but never quite do.

Lord Curzon hopes further that you will not abandon all hope of an agreement with the Mahanth on the main question. It would be a pity to sacrifice the hard work and the prolonged negotiations of the past three years.

BRINDABUN.

1. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 8th December 1902, on restoration of Brindabun Temples.*

His Excellency the Viceroy desires me to send you, for your kind consideration and opinion, the enclosed memorial from the Shri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal advocating the restoration of the Brindabun Temples. At the same time I am to ask you to kindly make a note of Byana, the old and ruined capital of Bhurtpore, should you at any time visit the latter State.

2. *Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 22nd December 1902, on restoration of Brindabun Temples.*

In reference to your letter of the 8th December enclosing a memorial from the Shri Bharat Dharma Mahamandal,—I visited Brindabun in April last and went carefully through the temples referred to in addition to that of Radha Ballabh, and afterwards advised the Government of the United Provinces to restore the two temples of Jugal Kishor and Radha Ballabh, giving details of all the measures necessary. Since then I have had accurate plans, drawings and photographs made of these two buildings, and have lately countersigned the estimates for the work, which will be taken in hand by Mr. Polwhele in March of 1903.

When we were preparing plans, objections were raised by the managers of the temples who were afraid of interference on the part of Government, and later a petition embodying their objections was sent to the Government of the United Provinces.

I was of opinion that some restorations should be done at the same time to the Idgah Mosque at Muttra, but in view of the independent tone adopted by the Committee concluded that Government aid might with advantage be postponed.

BURMA.**PRESERVATION OF THE PALACE AT MANDALAY.**

1. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir F. W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, dated 16th April 1899.*

Should you write again, will you be so good as to let me know what has been done about the Central Hall and the former Church in the Palace at Mandalay : whether all the office partitions have been taken down in the former and the whitewash removed, and how far regilding of the columns or ceiling is possible ?

2. *Letter from Sir F. W. R. Fryer, dated 27th April 1899.*

I proposed to write to you by this mail about the Church at Mandalay. Divine Service is now held in the throne room of the palace, and Lord Elgin wished this to be discontinued and said that the throne room should be thrown open again. It is, therefore, necessary to build a church at Mandalay. We have a design for the building by a London architect, Mr. Street, and I provided Rs. 25,000 to carry it out last year and Rs. 50,000 this year. To carry out this design will cost Rs. 1,34,204. The Government of India, however, object and refuse to sanction more than Rs. 89,812, which is, they say, the amount we are entitled to spend according to the Public Works Code, in which the expenditure on churches is limited according to the number of sittings to be provided. I was rather surprised at this, because when we proposed to modify the design and spend only the authorized sum some years ago, the Government of India told us that if we did so we should ruin the design, and that when we were in a position to build we ought to adhere to the architect's design. I spoke to Sir Arthur Trevor about the matter when I was in Calcutta and he said rules such as those of the Public Works Code could not be lightly set aside, but that I could represent the matter. This I am doing. The amount we are authorized to spend is Rs. 89,812, we have Rs. 6,000 from private subscriptions, so we want to spend Rs. 38,392 more than we are allowed to spend by the Public Works Code rules. Considering that Mandalay is the capital of Upper Burma, and that the

church is intended as a memorial to the officers and others who fell in the annexation of Upper Burma, and that the Province can find money, I think the rules of the Public Works Code might be relaxed for once.

Before we can vacate the principal rooms in the palace, we must provide offices for the present occupants outside. I am having estimates prepared of the cost of doing this, and will hurry up the work as much as I can.

It is said that the room which had been whitewashed was whitewashed originally by the King, because it was too dark for him to see in it. I am trying to verify this statement. We have, I find, spent Rs. 57,000 odd on the repairs of the palace since 1886, so it has not been entirely neglected. The cost of repairing the palace and re-gilding the columns and ceiling was estimated at three and a half lakhs. This estimate, however, included some rooms not mentioned in Lord Elgin's note, so I should think that the cost would come to about two and a half lakhs. I will call for an estimate and let you know the exact amount.

3. Letter from Sir F. W. R. Fryer, dated 12th May 1899.

In continuation of my letter of the 27th of April, I enclose a copy of a note*

* Not printed. by the ex-Kinwun Mingyi, the Hon'ble Maung Gaung, C.S.I., which shows that

the Public Works Department are not really responsible for whitewashing the room in the Palace which was noticed with so much horror by Lord Elgin. I did not myself think it at all unlikely that the Public Works Department would whitewash anything. It appears, however, that the ex-King was himself to blame.

The cost of re-gilding the columns and ceilings in the rooms which Lord Elgin thought should be thrown open to the public is estimated at Rs. 1,61,374.

4. Letter from Sir F. W. R. Fryer, dated 26th May 1899.

U. Pe Si, the ex-Myowun or Mayor of Mandalay, says that we shall be making a mistake if we restore the palace at Mandalay. The Burmans will think that a Burma King is to be replaced on the throne, and he fears that there will be plots and possibly risings. He recommends that we should either pull down the palace, or else leave it as it is. He says that the Burmans would like to see the tomb of King Mindon re-gilt, as they venerated that monarch. I had the tomb restored some years ago, and I will have the regilding done also. I do not think that

we need be alarmed at the threat of plots and risings if the palace is restored, as we can easily put down anything of the kind. U. Pe Si is a wise old man, and no doubt the Burmans will invent all sorts of wrong reasons for the restoration of the palace, but I do not consider that we need mind what they think or say.

5. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir F. W. R. Fryer, dated 9th July 1899.*

Concerning the palace repairs, I think that the clearance of the principal rooms—of which you sent me a plan—and the re-gilding of the ceiling and columns, ought certainly to be proceeded with. I do not regard the cost as excessive; while the alarms of the native Mayor strike me as beneath notice. Long before I come to Mandalay I hope that all trace of public or official occupation will have ceased; and that the building may be seen in something like its pristine beauty.

6. *Letter from Sir F. W. R. Fryer, dated 1st November 1900.*

I return the extract from the *Delhi Morning Post* received with your letter of the 15th October, and annex a statement of the Civil Officers living in the palace at Mandalay. Practically the only Civil Gazetted Officer living in the palace is Mr. Thirkell White, the Judicial Commissioner. He occupies a set of quarters in some rooms which were set aside as circuit rooms for high officers of Government when on tour at Mandalay by Sir Charles Crosthwaite in 1888. The officers for whom these rooms are reserved when they visit Mandalay on tour are as follows:—

Financial Commissioner,

Secretary to Government, Public Works Department,

Inspector-General of Police,

Director of Public Instruction,

and I propose to add—

Inspector-General, Civil Hospitals,

Inspector-General of Jails.

Any other Civil Inspecting Officer may occupy the rooms with the permission of the Superintending Engineer if they are vacant.

It seems to me that Mr. White gave up his house in March last, when Mrs. White went home, and the Chief Engineer allowed him to occupy two rooms in

these circuit quarters. The Chief Engineer has since retired. I do not think the permission should have been given, but as Mr. White goes on furlough next month, I do not propose to call on him to vacate the rooms before he leaves. I will see that they are not permanently occupied by any Civil Officer again. There are two houses in the Civil Lines at Mandalay unoccupied, and one inside the Fort. The Commissioner who takes Mr. Adamson, the present Commissioner's place when he relieves Mr. White, will occupy one of these houses. The other two are not very suitable houses for a high official.

The rooms Mr. White occupies in the palace are very spacious and handsome rooms. I have stayed in them myself when I was Financial Commissioner.

The Burmans think it very appropriate that the Judicial Commissioner should live in the palace, and have no scruple in visiting him there. Even monks call on officers in the palace.

Mr. White entertains pretty freely and has guests at the Club, which is quite close to his quarters, and where he takes his meals.

I should not have allowed Mr. White to occupy circuit rooms permanently had I been aware that he was doing so, because the arrangement is no doubt inconvenient to other officers who have to visit Mandalay on tour, but I do not think the arrangement is open to other objection.

A Junior Assistant Commissioner and an officiating Executive Engineer live in the quarters of the Upper Burma Club in the palace. No other Civil Officers live in the palace.

Enclosures of No. 6 :

- (1) Extract from the Morning Post, dated 11th October 1900, headed—"The Mandalay Palace—official vandals"; and (2) A Return of officers occupying quarters in the Mandalay Palace.
Not printed.
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7. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir F. W. R. Fryer, dated 23rd November 1900.

I am glad that you have taken steps to prevent the recurrence of such an incident as the occupation by Mr. Thirkell White of the circuit quarters in the Mandalay Palace; and I think that his sense of duty ought to have prevented him from ever going there. Clearly the quarters are for certain officers, engaged upon tours of inspection, and not for highly paid resident officials. His residence

there was doubly wrong : since it was both an evasion of his own responsibilities, and a misuse of accommodation intended for others.

8. *Note by Viceroy, dated 2nd December 1901.*

The desirability of preserving King Mindon's Palace arises not from its historical importance, which cannot be said to be very great, nor from its antiquity—for it is less than half a century old—but from its value as a model—the only one that will before long survive—of the civil and ceremonial architecture of the Burman Kings. Of the many scores of Kyaungs in Mandalay, some of which are specimens of the same style, there is none that is not in a state of dilapidation ; and the majority will, in all probability, have disappeared within the next forty or fifty years. The Palace, however, is still intact ; it is in a reasonable state of repair ; as a royal residence it is on a scale of size and splendour superior to that of any other structure in the province ; with its surroundings it constitutes a unit (in spite of the destruction of many of the former buildings on the platform) capable of independent preservation. Moreover, its survival and maintenance are both a compliment to the sentiments of the Burman race, showing them that we have no desire to obliterate the relics of their past sovereignty ; and a reminder that it has now passed for ever into our hands. I attach no value to the plea that the Burmans will be led by the preservation of the palace to think that there is a chance that the monarchy will one day be restored. Any such fanciful notion, even if it exists, cannot long survive. No one believes for a moment, because we preserve and are restoring the palaces of the Moguls at Agra, that we contemplate placing that dynasty again on the throne.

If, however, the palace at Mandalay is to be preserved, certain definite principles must be recognized as to its treatment and custody. An arbitrary line cannot be drawn, as was attempted by Lord Elgin, round a certain parallelogram of buildings, which should be kept up, while everything else on the platform is to be allowed to decay. The dividing line must be one that is determined by the character, condition, and artistic merit of the buildings to be preserved, not by their accidental juxtaposition.

Secondly, inasmuch as the entire group of buildings is of wood, and as the one great danger which has to be feared is fire, it is useless to evacuate one block, while continuing to occupy another. Every occupied house on the platform, and every individual living inside it, and using a lamp or a candle or a fire, is a source of perpetual danger to the whole. This applies more particularly to wooden structures, and most of all to the Queen's Palace and Audience Hall, now occupied by the Upper Burma Club, and surrounded by a cluster of wooden houses and cottages,

tenanted by servants or let out as apartments. As long as this occupancy continues, the entire palace is in daily, almost in hourly, danger; and it is futile to issue orders and to expend Government money upon the preservation of the whole, while leaving a perpetual fire-trap in one corner or part. No consideration of comfort or convenience should be allowed to interfere with this elementary fact.

The third principle to be observed relates to the character and methods of future repair or renovation. Financial considerations render it impossible to preserve the whole of the palace buildings in their original state, even if on other grounds it were desirable, which it is not. I do not know in what condition were the pillars of King Thibaw's Throne Room and Audience Hall (now used as the Garrison Church) before they were regilt. But supposing them to have been much the same as the gilded pillars and walls in other parts of the palace, I should not myself have sanctioned their being regilt. I should have regarded it as a needless expenditure of money, both because the regilt columns are not more, but less beautiful than the old, and because, owing to the impossibility of carrying the work right through the building, a sharp and unnecessary contrast is set up between the restored and the unrestored portions. However, this mistake, if mistake it was, cannot now be remedied. In future, however, I think that the following principle should be observed :—

- (a) Regilding should not be resorted to except in cases of obvious necessity.
- (b) An annual sum should be spent upon conservation, and should be devoted to the general repair of the scheduled buildings on the platform, to the occasional cleaning of the walls, to the restoration or renewal of the carved woodwork (which ought not, as a general rule, to be painted in an endeavour to imitate the sombre crimsons or reds of the old) in cornices, and eaves, and gables, and spires.

If these principles are followed the platform and its buildings should (barring the accident of fire) be capable of preservation for at least a hundred years. The columns will lose their brilliancy, as the gilding becomes dulled, or wears off, and the entire fabric will look less splendid and less picturesque. But its original character will still be maintained, and it will continue to survive as a type of regal architecture and residence in the pre-British times. It will be for some successor of mine to decide whether, as the structure grows older and gradually moulders into decay, it will be worth while attempting renovation on a larger scale than I have here foreshadowed.

Acting upon the above principles, in my recent thorough examination of the palace platform, I issued the following instructions to Mr. Benton, the Engineer, which it seems desirable to place on record, so as to guide future proceedings :—

- (1) Mr. Benton has undertaken to prepare a ground-plan of the platform, with its buildings, in which all those that are to be evacuated (where now occupied)

and to be especially preserved from decay, because of their character or associations, are to be marked.

(2) Buildings not so scheduled will be preserved or not, according as it may be thought desirable. A good many of them—the white elephant stable may be given as an illustration—will, in all probability, one day tumble down.

(3) The church has already received notice to quit, and will be finally removed as soon as the new church is completed. This should be in the early part of 1903 at the latest.

(4) The club should be given notice to leave at the same time. There has, I believe, been some talk of a lease that was alleged to have been given to the club for a term of years. But no evidence of such an arrangement exists: nor would it have been in the power of a Local Government to dispose of a Public Building in such a fashion without superior sanction. The main reason for the removal of the club is, as has already been pointed out, the danger of fire. Moreover its continued presence in one of the principal palace buildings, though I believe fraught with little or no damage to the latter, which seem to have been treated with praiseworthy care, conflicts with the principle upon which the whole is to be preserved as a national monument. There will be less need for so large a club building for Europeans in the future, owing to the reduction of the garrison of Fort Dufferin; and it will be for the Local Government and the members of the club to decide where they can be accommodated. In all probability a site should be selected adjacent to the lawn-tennis courts and gardens. I see no objection to their being given the summer-house in which King Thibaw surrendered to General Prendergast, and which is unworthy of being preserved on its own account. I understand that it was originally occupied as a club. If it be too small or too dilapidated, the site, or some adjoining piece of ground, might be given to the club upon which to build.

(5) The whitewash that was smeared over several of the scheduled rooms in the palace, during its occupation as a residence or as offices by the British, is to be removed. If the original crimson lacquer below has perished, the surface must be re-painted the same colour.

(6) The whitewash originally applied in King Thibaw's time to two or three interior rooms, because of their darkness, can be left untouched, the apartments in question being of no beauty or importance.

(7) The crimson throne upon which stood the small gold images should be replaced behind the throne-door where it stood in King Thibaw's time.

(8) The lions that stood on either side of King Thibaw's principal or lion throne should be recovered, regilt, and replaced. It is not necessary to replace the small lions in the niches in the base of the throne.

(9) Some panels, with glass incrustations, that have been moved from their original site in the interior apartments, should be replaced. The same applies

to the panels in the dining-room of the club. When the latter quits, they should be restored. This must not be forgotten.

(10) All traces of the recent occupation of the rooms in the palace, either as an official residence or as Government offices, should be removed. A good many of these still survive.

(11) The water tanks, where placed near to the platform, should be removed to a safe distance. If the main buildings were ablaze, they would, as placed at present, be unapproachable and useless.

(12) When the entire range of buildings has been evacuated, the platform, the scheduled apartments, and the gardens should be maintained as a national monument, open to the public from end to end, and carefully guarded, night and day, by a sufficient body of watchmen.

(13) A good deal of the apparent dustiness and dilapidation arises from no attempt having been made, since the British occupation, to clear away the dirt and cobwebs which lie thick everywhere, and which are the inevitable consequence of exposure to the air. A little careful dusting and cleaning (not rubbing) will show that in many cases the gilding is almost as fresh as when first put on. I have suggested that this should be done.

(14) The Council Chamber of the *Hluttaw* is so dilapidated as to be unworthy of preservation among the scheduled buildings. It stands at some distance from the main structure of the Palace, and possesses little merit or beauty. I have asked Mr. Benton to furnish me with drawings and measurements of the old throne, side-doors and balustrades that still remain in it, with a view of presenting them to the Calcutta Museum. They will otherwise perish in a few years. If it is necessary to keep the offices of the Commissariat Department in the Palace enclosure, I see no great objection to their being accommodated in the *Hluttaw*. They must certainly be removed from their present quarters, which are in the scheduled list.

(15) The outside walls and platform were in the time of the Kings painted white. The grey that has since been introduced is one of the hideous innovations of the Public Works Department. It should be replaced, either by plain whitewash, or, should some contrast be required by white and crimson-red (corresponding to the colour everywhere used by the Burman Kings).

9. Note (Extract) by J. Benton, Esq., Offg. Chief Engineer, Burma, dated 6th December 1901.

5. Whitewashing has been removed from all the buildings [paragraph (4) (c) *supra*], except the two internal badly-lighted rooms. Commissariat office has only shifted out very lately so the Dowager Queen's apartments which were

occupied by that office remain still to be done. The buildings from which white-wash has been removed have been painted red.

6. See note No. 2 of Viceroy's Minute.

7. The only buildings on the platform now used are—

(i) The Upper Burma Club and Church.

(ii) Buildings repaired whenever necessary.

(iii) Gilding washed during the year.

(iv) All traces of occupation of officers or residences removed from the vacated buildings.

(v) Perforated zinc doors behind throne entrances have been repaired.

(vi) The only residents on the platform now are those in the Upper Burma Club.

(vii) The doors of all the rooms which are gilded are shut from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M. To ensure safety, gates have been put at all staircases to the Palace platform and they are locked up from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M.

(viii) The necessary conservancy and caretaking establishment is maintained.

(ix) The glass panels in the buildings G and I, have been removed to their original position in the Glass Palace. The Upper Burma Club has not vacated.

(x) The wooden figure of a lion in the garden summer-house has been restored to its original position by the lion throne. The other thrones have been properly placed as regards their position and the position of the umbrella stands beside them.

(xi) The masonry pillars outside the peacock throne have been re-erected perpendicularly.

8. (1) Post office removed to the new building constructed below the Palace platform.

(2) Telegraph office shifted to the building known as *zayat* north of the Commissariat godown in Fort Dufferin.

(3) Quarters occupied by Public Works Department subordinates vacated.

(4) Office of Deputy Conservator of Forests removed to Maymyo.

(5) Still used as a Roman Catholic Church. No church built as yet.

(6) Northern Shan States Subdivisional office removed to Maymyo.

(7) Circuit-rooms vacated, new circuit-house has been built.

(8) Carver's shed dismantled and rebuilt below the platform.

9. Buildings mentioned in this paragraph kept in repairs throughout the year.

10. Gardens surrounding the Palace are being maintained ; up to February last, they were maintained by the Public Works Department, since then they have been handed over to the Cantonment Committee, Mandalay, by orders of the Local Government.

11. See paragraph 1 of Viceroy's note on public buildings (other than the Palace) in Mandalay.

Estimates were sanctioned as follows :—

	Rs.
Construction of new <i>pyathats</i>	43,968
Repairs to <i>pyathats</i>	23,000
Restoration of Palace buildings	5,280
<hr/>	
Expenditure during the year 1902-03 as under—	
New <i>pyathats</i> , five in hand	7,985
Repairs to <i>pyathats</i> , 37 in number	17,777
Restoration of Palace buildings	3,208

10. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir F. W. R. Fryer, dated 21st February 1902.*

The Museum will be only too delighted to receive the dilapidated *Hluttaw* throne, etc., and, therefore, I telegraphed to you to send it off.

I shall be glad to learn what steps are being taken to carry out the instructions that I left about the Palace and other buildings. The Club question will almost resolve itself, for the British garrison is to be halved straight away, and if the experiment of moving them is successful, then the remainder are to disappear : so that beyond the few officials resident in Mandalay or passing through, there will be no one to use the Club. By this I mean that quite a small new building will be sufficient. The dangers that I apprehend from fire were forcibly illustrated the other day when the Club house at Nagpur, a much less inflammable building than Queen Supayalat's Palace, was burned to the ground from the accidental overturning of a lamp.

11. *Report (Extract) by the Executive Engineer, Mandalay Division, dated 22nd April 1903.*

[Reference—Viceroy's Note (No. 8 above).]

1 Plan showing existing state of Palace attached.

2. The following unscheduled buildings have been sold by public auction and dismantled, as per plan attached :—

- (1) Post office.
- (2) Telegraph office.
- (3) Forest office.
- (4 to 7) Four private quarters.
- (8) Carver's workshop (rebuilt at the Carver's cost below the Palace platform).
- (9) Late Irrigation Superintending Engineer's office.
- (10) Conservator of Forests' office, Western Division.
- (11) Major-General's quarters.
- (12 and 13) Elephant sheds.
- (14) *Hluttaw*.

3. The Church (No. 15) has not been removed as the question of the troops remaining in Mandalay is still under consideration and as there is no other place inside the Fort available for holding service.

4. The removal of the Club (No. 16) is held in abeyance for the same reason as the Church.

5. The whitewash that was smeared over several of the scheduled rooms in the Palace during its occupation as a residence or as offices by the British has been removed except from the Dowager Queen's apartments, which has, up to the 16th of March, been used as a Commissariat office. This will be done this year.

6. The three interior rooms have been re-whitewashed.

7. Crimson throne has been replaced behind the throne door, where it stood in King Thibaw's time.

8. The lions that stood on either side of King Thibaw's lion throne have been recovered, re-gilt and replaced. One lion had to be made new as only one could be found in the Palace garden.

9. The panels with glass incrustations have been replaced in their original position with the exception of the Club dining-room panels.

10. All traces of the recent occupation of the rooms in the Palace either as an official residence or as Government offices have been removed, except from the three buildings: Club, Protestant Church, and the Commissariat office.

11. Water tanks have been removed to a safe distance.

12. The vacated scheduled apartments and the gardens are open to the public from end to end, and the Palace is guarded by six durwans with a head durwan over them.

13. All vacated buildings have been dusted and cleaned.

14. The throne in the *Hluttaw* or Council chamber has been sent to Calcutta. The building has been dismantled and removed.

15. All grey from outside wall and platform has been removed and the portions thus covered have now been whitewashed.

12. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir H. S. Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.V.O., Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, dated 16th June 1903.

You may remember that, when I was in Mandalay, I issued orders (a) for the removal of a Church from the King's Throne Room in the Palace ; (b) for the removal of the Club from the Queen's Throne Room. Both removals have ever since been suspended : (a) because of the difficulty in which we were landed by that absurd so-called Memorial Church, and by the inability of the Military authorities to make up their minds as to what is to be the ultimate garrison of Mandalay ; (b) by the difficulty in ascertaining, for the second of the above reasons, what the size and numbers of the new Club were likely to be.

The question of the garrison must be finally settled after the experience of the present hot weather : the Memorial Church must then either be reconstructed or pulled down : and both the Throne Rooms must be set free. Not a day or a night passes so long as the Club is in its present quarters, in which there is not serious risk of the entire range of buildings on the Palace Platform being destroyed by fire : while the presence of the Church in its present surroundings is an anomaly and an eyesore. I hope you will kindly bear in mind the instructions on both points, and that before you have been a year in Burma, both may have been successfully carried out.

13. Letter from Sir H. S. Barnes, dated 5th September 1903.

While I was at Mandalay I went carefully over the Palace with Your Excellency's Note, and Mr. Benton's Note of December 1901. I enclose a Note*

(with map) by the Executive Engineer
showing what has been done to carry out

Your Excellency's wishes. I think Your Excellency would be pleased with the progress made. All the offices have been removed, and the place looks very clean and neat.

All traces of recent occupation have been removed except in one or two rooms here they are still rubbing off whitewash. If anything, it seems to me that the

* Not printed.

Engineers have gone beyond their orders in the matter of demolition. Your Excellency probably has a copy of Mr. Benton's Note of December 1901, and of its accompanying map. In this Note (and also in Your Excellency's Note), it was stated that buildings of an ordinary rough character (unscheduled buildings) should be maintained in fair repair, and removed entirely when beyond repair. These were coloured yellow in Mr. Benton's map, those still in occupation being crossed with red lines. The whole of these have been demolished (see buildings coloured green in map now enclosed) except one of the lesser Queens' houses, which I have marked X in the enclosed plan, and which is still occupied by the Roman Catholic Church, and the six buildings used as Club quarters on one side of the Club. Probably none of the buildings demolished were worth keeping ; the only ones that perhaps might have been kept a little longer being the 3 lesser Queens' houses marked N. O. P. on Mr. Benton's plan, and 9, 10, 11 on the plan enclosed. I think it is a pity they have been demolished so soon. The Executive Engineer said he had orders also to pull down X (marked M on Benton's plan) when the Roman Catholic Church was removed. But I told him to do nothing without orders from me. It is a fine big building, and though of no peculiar beauty or merit, it might be left where it is as a specimen of the houses used by the lesser Queens. The main Palace building now looks very well, and the vista through all the rooms to the Lion's Throne is very fairy-like and charming. I have accepted General McLeod's proposals to keep only two Companies of a British Regiment at Mandalay, so, if this is approved, we should be able to move both the Churches and the Club this year. The Government will no doubt be willing to treat the Club liberally and allow them one of the vacated military houses at a low rent. The British Infantry Mess House would be very suitable. As soon as General McLeod's proposals have gone through, I will send up official proposals about the Club.

The wooden pavilions on the walls of Mandalay are nearly all finished ; I think only 3 or 4 remain incomplete. The effect of the renovated pavilions is very good. The gateways and bridges are all painted white.

14. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir H. S. Barnes, dated 6th September 1903.*

From the map of the Mandalay Palace that you have sent to me, it would appear that a rather cleaner sweep has been made of the unscheduled buildings than I had contemplated. As it has now been done, there is nothing more to be said. I must accept the consolation that the platform without them looks well (of course it must be tidily kept), that their conservation would have cost money, and that they would, in all probability, not have survived for many years. I think you

are quite right to keep the building marked X as a sample of the subordinate domestic architecture of the period.

I am glad to hear that the question of the future garrison of Mandalay, carrying with it the destiny of the Club and the Church, is nearing solution. I will enquire if it has reached our offices here. I shall never feel quite easy till the Club and Church have been removed, the former carrying with it a daily, and as I thought imminent, menace of destruction by fire to every building on the platform.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS (OTHER THAN THE PALACE) AT MANDALAY.

1. Note by Viceroy, dated 2nd December 1901.

(1) It should be considered a duty of Government to preserve the fanciful tiered wooden pavilions over the gateways of the old City Wall. Some of these are dilapidated and crumbling. Others have, as far as I could judge, already disappeared, certain of the gateways being uncovered by any erection. If I am correct, these should be restored. As long as the City Wall survives, an endeavour should be made to preserve its original character and picturesqueness, in which the wooden structures in question play a prominent part. They should be inspected every year ; and the timely expenditure of a little money will keep them intact for a long time to come.

(2) The gateways, the curtains masking them, and the bridges across the moat, were, in the days of the Burman monarchy, painted white. They have now been disfigured by Public Works Department grey. Either the white should be restored, or, if this is thought too glaring, the parts now painted grey should be coloured with a crimson or brick tint similar to that of the walls.

(3) It might be worth while to give a little money to the repair of the Queen's Monastery, upon the lines indicated in my Minute upon the Palace. If regilding is required, the Buddhist Community should do it themselves. But structural repair and the renovation of broken or rotting wood work might be undertaken on a modest scale, and with some advantage, since the group of buildings is, next to the Palace, the most picturesque in Mandalay.

2. Report (Extract) by the Executive Engineer, Mandalay Division, dated 22nd April 1903.

[Reference—Viceroy's Note above.]

1. Most of the *pyathats* over the gateways of the old City Wall have been put in thorough repair during the year 1902-03, only three remain to be done.

Five out of seven new *pyathats* to replace the ones which had disappeared have been built.

2. All dark colour wash on the gateways, curtains masking them, and the bridges across the moat has been removed, and the whole whitewashed.

3. Nothing has been done by this department towards the restoration or repairs to the Queen's Monastery up to date.

CUSTODY OF THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON.

1. Note by Viceroy, dated 11th December 1901.

The points that struck me as standing in need of elucidation or of further orders are the following:—

(1) Desirability of relieving the Military authorities of the control of the Pagoda platform. At present applications for permission to build upon it from the Trustees or others have to be referred to the General Officer Commanding, Rangoon, and by him to the Lieutenant-General Commanding, Madras. No conceivable military interest is involved, and the procedure seems unnecessary. Recently the consent of the Deputy Commissioner, as representing the Local Government, has also been required. The final authority should certainly be the Civil, not the Military, authority. Whether the Local Government should be advised by the Deputy Commissioner of Town Lands or by the Municipality, I cannot say offhand. But I should be inclined to prefer the former, as less likely to produce conflict of opinion. Sir E. Elles, after consultation with General Protheroe, informs me that the Military authorities will raise no objection to the proposed transfer; but that it would be well, in the event of new buildings on the platform being contemplated, if the Local Government were to ask the General Officer Commanding, Rangoon, if he has any objection, since it is undesirable to build anything that touches the wall on the Arsenal side.

(2) A similar question arises in connection with the proposed garden outside the inner walled enclosure. The Military authorities object on grounds connected with defence. The mistake seems to arise from treating the Pagoda and its surroundings as a fort at all. It is scarcely conceivable that it can ever again be so utilised. As long as the Arsenal remains within its precincts, it may be necessary to observe certain rules and precautions ; but it is possible that by classifying the fort in a lower grade these may be capable of relaxation, and that the present anomalous position may be remedied. Since writing the above, I learn from Sir E. Elles and General Protheroe that the Military objection to planting the garden is withdrawn.

(3) The principle seems to demand acceptance that further encroachments upon the Pagoda platform should be prohibited. I gather that the bulk of the gaudy and hideous accretions that now surround the central pile are the work of the past ten years. As Rangoon becomes richer, more and more wealthy Natives seek to deserve salvation by expending large sums of money (carefully advertised) upon so holy a site. The Trustees are evidently quite incompetent to safeguard the place. In a few years' time, if the present rate of building be continued, the broad passage round the platform will be almost completely blocked. I think that this should not be allowed. There are plenty of unoccupied corners on the platform, where the piety of generous devotees might be permitted to expend itself upon *tazaungs*, or shrines, without doing much harm. Probably, as these sites are not easily seen, they will not be popular. But the main pathway ought certainly to be kept open.

(4) It would appear desirable that some check should, if possible, be placed upon the untrammeled liberty of the Trustees to daub, whitewash, and disfigure as they please ; and also upon the taste, character, and decorative features of the new buildings, figures, or images, which they desire to erect. I do not know whether such a check is possible, or whether by a revision of the rules made by the Chief Court it could be enforced.

(5) I gathered that there is not a complete register or schedule of all the property and gifts in the possession of the Trustees. This should certainly be made, as in the case of the Southern Indian temples ; and the entire collection should be inspected once or twice a year by the Civil authorities, or under the orders of the Chief Court.

2. Note by Viceroy on petition presented to him by Buddhist authorities in Rangoon,
dated 11th December 1901.

(1) Desirability of marking out the Pagoda lands.

There is said to be some dispute between the Trustees and the Military authorities on the matter. This ought to be capable of solution ; and a demarcation of the Pagoda lands would seem to be both feasible and desirable.

(2) Building of temporary wooden bazaar stalls outside and behind those on the right side of the entrance steps on the South.

The removal of the existing stalls between the pillars would widen and improve the entrance ; and I can see no reason why permission should not be given. The Military objection that the new booths would be in the line of fire seems to be without value, and I think that it should be overruled. The Trustees offer to remove the building if ever required to do so in the future.

(3) Grant of permission to Buddhists to build or restore *Kyaungs* on monastery lands without reference to the Municipality.

The control of the latter is probably demanded in the interests of sightly buildings and of sanitation. I can, however, offer no opinion without further information.

(4) Request that *Sayadaws* in Lower Burma may be conceded immunity from appearance in the Civil and Criminal Courts, similar to that alleged to be enjoyed by the *Sayadaws* in Upper Burma. The request is further explained in one of the petitions as meaning that monks may be conceded the same privilege as *purda-nashin* ladies, and may be tried only in their own *Kyaungs*.

The allegation about Upper Burma was disputed by the Deputy Commissioner, and seems on the face of it unlikely, and the petition itself seems absurd.

(5) Declaration of Buddha's birthday as a public holiday.

Unless this was done in the time of the Burmese Kings, there would appear to be no sufficient cause. The concession would produce similar demands from the Muhammadans and other religions in other parts of India. The Trustees of Shwe Dagon in their address say that the day is already observed in Bengal and other parts of India as a Public Gazetted Holiday. But I think that they must be mistaken.

(6) Request in petition (read at Buddhist Arch) that grants of land occupied as sites of monasteries may be issued.

This is probably identical with the second petition of the Trustees. It has been dealt with in Mr. Fell's departmental note.

I informed the *Sayadaws* at Shwe Dagon that requests on these or any other points ought to be formally submitted by them to the Lieutenant-Governor, for transmission with his opinion, to the Government of India.

CHITOR.

1. Note by J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 8th October 1902, on Ancient Towers at Chitor.

There is nothing further to be said concerning the pillared roof. The danger to it is imminent, and if it cannot be removed at once and rebuilt, measures should be taken for supporting it in case of collapse. To shore it up would be extremely dangerous, if not impossible, as Mr. White has pointed out. But a suggestion which I made met with the Engineer's approval, i.e., to pile up timbers cross-wise on the platform on which the *chhatri* stands (and which in itself is quite firm), almost to the height of the architrave, but without actually touching it. Should the pillar give way, this would act as sufficient support until it can be dismantled piece by piece. Even if a strong scaffolding is erected, I would recommend that some such support be placed beneath the roof, before its removal is attempted.

As regards the body of the tower, I cannot agree with Mr. Ccusesns that such extensive rebuilding is necessary. As Mr. White has remarked, the foundations are undisturbed. The cracks appeared to be caused by lightning, and nothing more than surface repairs are necessary up to within a few feet of the roof platform. Dowelling and mortar might be employed to strengthen these repairs, both inside and outside the tower, wherever practicable. But they should be as little obvious to view as possible.

The last few feet of the tower immediately below the platform might be entirely rebuilt, as a solid foundation for the restored *chhatri*. I would strongly urge the necessity of lightning-conductors both to this tower and the tower of Victory.

Photographs should be taken of the tower before it is touched, and photographs of the crowning *chhatri* when the scaffolding has been erected.

2. Note by Viceroy, dated 18th November 1902, on Ancient Towers at Chitor.

Tower of Fame.—I have this morning inspected Chitor, and I place on record my impressions. Since Mr. Marshall visited the place, the whole of the topmost

storey or *chhatri* of the Tower of Fame has been removed, and the pieces are now lying numbered on the ground. In the course of this removal a great many of the stones have been chipped or injured. As Mr. Lillie, the Railway Engineer, who was with me and who seems to have been consulted by the Udaipur Durbar, remarked, the local workmen are very rough at pulling down, but can faithfully reproduce anything that they may have broken. He seemed to think this a great merit. I was horror-stricken.

I climbed up the bamboo scaffolding round the tower to the top, and I crawled up the staircase inside. Mr. Lillie is of opinion that the entire tower is cracking and will fall outwards ; and he has proposed to the Durbar that the tower be taken down to its foundations and re-erected stone by stone, the workmen no doubt reproducing whatever they smash ! I am no engineer : and I am unable to estimate the dynamic capacity of a bulge or a crack. But I desire to record my non-expert opinion that it would be a foolish and unjustifiable act to pull down the whole of this beautiful and unique monument until we have much more certain knowledge that it must otherwise perish.

I was told that the estimate for its demolition and restoration amounted to one lakh of rupees, and that we are practically enforcing this upon the Maharana. In my opinion, restoration is capable of being quite as senseless as vandalism : and I do not feel sure that we are not on the verge of a great mistake.

My inclination would be to stop the progress of all further work by telegram : and to get some competent engineer (acquainted with the principles of structural stability) to go to Chitor and advise as to whether any more should be pulled down. The State would gladly pay a small fee on the chance of escaping a big outlay. I believe myself that, with a few supports, clamps, and occasional restoration, this tower, which has stood for 1,000 years, is capable of standing a good deal longer : and I shudder at the idea of the damage that may be wrought to the carved stones in pulling them asunder, taking them down, and re-erecting them. What we have to do is (1) to decide upon a policy ; (2) to see if some intelligent person cannot be deputed to Chitor, while the remainder of the work is being carried out. Will Mr. Marshall kindly advise me on above ?

While this building is being restored, the workmen should also clean out the small ruined temple at its base. It does not admit of any extensive restoration : but paving stones can be relaid, bats driven out, the interior cleansed, chinks and cracks filled in, and decay prevented from spreading.

Since writing the above I have spoken to the Agent to the Governor-General and got him to stop all further work by telegram. I have also told him that the Maharana of Udaipur should be advised to consult an expert engineer before proceeding further. Unless Director General has any proposal to make, I shall instruct Mr. Martindale to find this person.

Tower of Victory.—I also carefully examined the Tower of Victory inside and outside.

The plinth on which it stands is surrounded by an abominable pierced stone balustrade erected by a recent State Engineer, Mr. Williams, the pattern being more or less copied from some of the pierced stone panels in the side of the tower.

I imagine this addition to be hopelessly and atrociously wrong. Whether the plinth originally had any balustrade I do not know enough of these structures to be sure. I should think in the case of a Hindu building that the answer would be "No."

I was told that the present *chhatri* or cupola on the top was put up 48 years ago. It is a weird and terrible erection : and all sorts of slabs and pieces of carved stone, including several original inscriptions, have been worked piecemeal into its walls.

What one wants are drawings or illustrations of this tower before the top was added or restored. There must be such in existence. It ought to be possible to ascertain how these towers terminated at the summit, and then to decide whether (a) to attempt a reconstruction ; (b) to leave the present horror alone ; or (c) simply to remove it. Mr. Marshall will remember that a similar anachronism was erected some years ago on the top of the Qutub near Delhi, but was afterwards removed because of its glaring incongruity. It now stands like an empty summer house on the summit of a neighbouring mound.

In some of the projecting balconies of the Tower of Victory cracks are developing : but a little attention can prevent any serious development. The core or centre of this tower is so much more solid than that of the Tower of Fame that, short of an earthquake, nothing appears likely to bring it down.

A few months of intelligently supervised work can, in my opinion, save both towers from further dilapidation.

As to the remainder of its buildings, I found Chitor a great disappointment. It is not to be mentioned in the same breath with Mandu.

DELHI.

RESTORATION OF ANCIENT BUILDINGS AT DELHI.

1. *Letter from Sir J. W. Barry, dated 21st January 1900.*

You asked me to let you know which are the buildings at Delhi of which I thought the walls have been plastered and whitewashed, so concealing the old marble walls and inlaid work. I have referred to the plan in my Murray's Guide Book and see that the buildings in question are those to the north of the Diwan-i-Khas and to the south of the Rang Mahal or painted hall. The latter is used I believe as a guard-room or store—the former includes parts of the baths. The dadoes in the rooms adjoining the baths are not plastered and one sees the original beautiful work to that height. We were not admitted to the guard-room or store, but judging from the doorways I should think that the walls are of marble. I cannot help thinking that careful removal of the plaster would disclose much fine work and would be well repaid. The question might be settled by small explorations through the Churchwarden plaster before undertaking any considerable area.

2. *Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir W. M. Young, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, dated 8th February 1900.*

I also send you some remarks concerning Delhi about which I shall be grateful if you will communicate with Mr. Fanshawe, who seemed to me to be a scholar and an enthusiast.

Last year I received the following letter from a distinguished foreign savant who had been making the tour of India :—

*"Restoration of Diwan-i-Khas, Delhi.—The decorative foliage round the ceiling is being repainted most vilely. The scheme of colour, formerly masculine reds and blues, sombre, like old Japanese enamels, is demonstrably wrong, and clashes with the *pietra dura* incrustation below, of which it was a rappel. The whole place is being regilded. The old gold was sequin gold; the modern looks like Judson's fluid. There are now two distinct dates on the building, Shah*

Jahan's, 250 years old, and the English, 5 or 6. The English is the most prominent. Either the building is old, and if so, should look old and not mendaciously new ; or, if a new looking building is required, it had better be built elsewhere, and not at Shah Jahan's expense. As it stands it is incoherent, is historically a lie, and in parts æsthetically an offence. Such tinkering up would have to be repeated every 30 years, for the materials are vile, until, from successive paintings, scrapings, restorations, not a vestige of the genuine and inestimable old work would be left. No one can repaint the ceiling. The man now at work upon it is an unutterably bad workman. His work, tremulous, hesitating and gaudy, positively sets one's teeth on edge."

Again the same writer said—"At Delhi the museum is a howling wilderness that would shame by its dirt, neglect, and incoherence any village. The tickets are upside down, filthy ; and beautiful things jumbled up anyhow with refuse. It is a thing to be seen and wondered at."

Now the language of my foreign correspondent was no doubt hyperbolic and immoderate ; and not having visited the Delhi Museum, I cannot say whether it may not be also unfair. But in respect of the restorations in the palace at Delhi, I do not think that he has substantially erred. I was horrified by the paintings undertaken for the Prince of Wales' visit in 1876 : and I thought that some of the more recent restorations were little better. I do not mind anywhere a single panel being painted to show what is the modern artist's idea of what the originals may have been. But that is enough. Better the faded and perished originals than a series of modern restorations of which my recollection is that I saw some indications in the Fort at Delhi.

I do not know who is your Archæological Surveyor in the Punjab, if you have one. But I should be grateful if you would communicate my views to the officer responsible, whoever he be.

When I visited the Fort at Delhi with Mr. Fanshawe, I tried to ascertain whether there were any of the old Mogul buildings, now used for military purposes, which were capable of being re-converted and restored. I saw the Rang Mahal, used, I think, as a Mess Room, which did not appear to me to have much merit. But the other day Sir J. Wolfe Barry, who passed through here, told me that, judging from the doorways, he believed the walls to be of marble, and thought that removal of the plaster would disclose much fine work. Would you, therefore, be so good as to have some experimental probings made ?

The other respects in which I invoked Mr. Fanshawe's assistance were the following. I suggested the completion of the partially restored red sandstone balustrade round the platform of Humayun's Tomb ; and I recommended the cleaning of the slatternly court of the mosque of Sher Shah at Indraput, and the repair of some of the marble facing of the walls. I shall be glad to know what steps have been taken in these respects.

A little later I hope to appoint an archæological expert who will go round from time to time, and advise as to what is being or ought to be done : and I should like occasionally to supplement local by imperial funds.

In all these respects I must largely rely upon the co-operation of my Lieutenant-Governors.

3. *Letter from Sir J. Strachey, G.C.S.I., London, dated 12th March 1900.*

It was extremely kind of you to send to me the report of your most interesting speech on the preservation of ancient monuments in India. I should have thanked you for it sooner, but after a good deal of delay your letter followed me to Florence, where—in spite of the date given above—I am now writing. Few things in these troublous times, when there has been so much to make one unhappy, have given me so much pleasure as the knowledge that India has found a Viceroy resolved that the British Government shall become a more faithful guardian of her “ priceless treasure-houses of art.”

I am reminded by your reference to the story of the doctors who demanded the cutting off the battlements of the wall of the Delhi Palace of an old scheme of mine which I vainly attempted to get carried out. When that Habukkuk, the Public Works Department, was busy with its work of destruction in the interior of the palace, it did its best to ruin the appearance of the exterior also. No builders have ever known like the Moguls what magnificent architectural effects could be produced by great battlemented walls and gateways. There was in old times no more strikingly splendid object in India than the great wall of the Delhi Palace and its gateway, which that of Fatehpur Sikri alone could equal. The Military Engineers, thinking to make the palace more defensible against attack, threw up in front of the wall towards the city a huge glacis of earth, thus dwarfing and hiding a great part of its elevation, and completely destroying to the eye of the spectator the splendid proportions of the wall and gateway. All the best authorities used to tell me that, from a military point of view, this glacis was utterly useless. Against a city mob the wall with its glacis was a no better defence than it was before, while against an enemy with artillery the glacis added nothing to its power of resistance. But to persuade people that it would be a legitimate expense to clear away this mass of earth with no other object than that of improving the view of an old building was impossible. If Delhi had been within my own dominion of the North-Western Provinces, it might perhaps have been done. Reading the lamentable accounts of the famine with which unhappily you have now to deal, it has occurred to me that the sweeping away of this great eyesore would make an admirable relief-work, not of course a very large one, but still one that would give occupation of exactly the kind most wanted for

a considerable time to a large number of people incapable of more serious work. There would be almost nothing to do beyond digging up earth and carrying it away to some other place. May I commend to your consideration this suggestion ? If it were carried out, and the ground left clear between the palace and the Jumma Musjid, you would have a view that no city in the world could beat.

4. Letter (Extract) from Sir W. M. Young, dated 21st March 1900.

I have investigated the subject of the repairs to the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi, and forward a publication on the subject. Major Cole's remarks on the restoration of the ceiling in 1876 bear out, to some extent at all events, the strictures of the foreign savant mentioned in your letter of 8th February. That work was done, I am informed, by the Military Works Department. In 1885 and the three following years, an extensive restoration was taken in hand, this time by the Provincial Public Works Department. And, notwithstanding Major Cole's warning, the ceiling of the outer corridor was renewed after the model of the work done by the Military Works in 1876. The cost was Rs. 19,758 on the whole restoration. Since 1897 the building has been again made over to the Military Works Department. The amount spent on repairs between 1890 and 1897 was Rs. 7,677.

The Rang Mahal is also in charge of the Military Works Department. Mr. Fanshawe is making enquiries about it, and I shall write again.

About the balustrade round the platform of the Emperor Humayun's tomb, Mr. Fanshawe gave orders before Your Excellency left Delhi ; also about the courtyard of the Indraput Mosque. The latter has been cleared, and Rs. 3,402 have been sanctioned for the former, to be spent when our famine demands are ended. Mr. Fanshawe also promises to explain personally what is required as regards the front of the Indraput Mosque.

5. Letter from Sir W. M. Young, dated 17th September 1900.

My sins in the Archaeological Department are many, and I must make an effort to atone for them. I believe that it will be well to defer *action* till we get out an expert, whom we are to share with Baluchistan and Ajmer (not with North-Western Provinces), but that is no excuse for not replying to Your Excellency's enquiries. So I proceed to answer, as far as I can, your letter of 8th February 1900—(in continuation of mine of 21st March).

The subjects on which Your Excellency wished for information were :—

I.—Restoration of Diwan-i-Khas, Delhi.

I communicated the remarks by the distinguished foreign savant to Mr. Fanshawe, Commissioner of Delhi, and he sent them on to Sir Bindon Blood, who called for a report from the Military Works Engineer in charge of the building, Captain Watson. I enclose the remarks of all three in the inverse order. It will be seen that none of the ceiling is older than the century, the original ceiling having been entirely renewed, part during the early years of the century, part in 1875, and part recently. The best course seems to be to do as little as possible till we get the expert. Please see also the remarks on this subject contained in my letter of 21st March 1900.

II.—The Delhi Museum.

On this subject Mr. Fanshawe wrote to me on 26th March 1900 :—

“ The Delhi Museum is being put into order, and by next cold weather will be presentable. It had been neglected, but was scarcely the howling wilderness reported by the Viceroy’s correspondent.”

III.—The Rang Mahal.

On this Sir Bindon Blood writes :—

“ I have personally made sure that the only marble in the Rang Mahal is that now uncovered. The capitals of the pillars are brick plastered.”

On this subject, please see, some general remarks below by Mr. Fanshawe.

IV.—Completion of red sandstone balustrade round the platform of Humayun’s Tomb.

Orders were issued before Your Excellency left Delhi. Please see my letter of 21st March 1900.

V.—Clearing of the court of the mosque of Sher Shah at Indraput, and repair of some of the marble facing of the walls.

Please see above-quoted letter.

VI.—Glacis outside the fort walls.

On this subject I think Your Excellency gave me personally Sir John Strachey’s letter, and I asked Mr. Fanshawe for his remarks. He says—

“ What Sir John Strachey writes about this is perfectly correct. The wall consists of three great courses of sandstone below the grand parapet, and of these the lowest course is absolutely hidden by the glacis. Its removal is of course a military question. We have happily no famine in Delhi, and no need of relief works, so that the removal could not be undertaken as such, though the work could be noted for inclusion in future programmes. At present the effect of the

magnificent rosy wall is utterly ruined by the glacis, and it is impossible to get a good general front view of it from any point. At the same time it must be remembered that we cannot complete the picture which the walls must have made while they were yet young by turning the Jumna waters into the moat, and, while hiding the sloping base of rough stone from which they rise, see the reflection of the walls in the water below."

In returning Sir John Strachey's letter, I can but express my concurrence with these remarks.

On the subject generally of the Delhi buildings, I enclose a brief account of the financial position by Captain Watson, R.E., with some remarks by Mr. Fanshawe. I concur generally with the latter, though I have not recently seen the various buildings, and am not in a position to give a definite opinion as to his specific proposals. He tells me in another letter that he has, in communication with the Officer Commanding, had all the bushes and unsightly trees in front of the Diwan-i-Khas cut away, so that it can now be properly seen from the outside.

I am doing nothing about the Lahore Fort buildings, as I understood that it was Your Excellency's conclusion that we must await the arrival of our Archæological Surveyor before making any change.

Enclosures of No. 5:

(1) *Note by Captain T. C. Watson, R.E., on the ceiling of the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi.*

The repairs to the ceiling of the Diwan-i-Khas are absolutely necessary to prevent its falling down. They are being done by the son of the man who painted the original ceiling.

His Excellency the Viceroy's foreign correspondent is not strictly accurate in inferring that the ceiling dates from Shah Jahan's time.

The original ceiling was of silver, was dismantled and melted down early in the Nineteenth Century and replaced by the present wooden ceiling. If the ceiling of the main hall (the one under repair) is compared with that of the south verandah, the difference in the age of the work is at once apparent.

The south verandah ceiling is painted on polished shell-lime plaster, the making of which is practically a lost art in this part of India.

The central ceiling is painted on thin wood panels. These panels are rapidly perishing and the repairs now being carried out are, to take out the rotten panels and replace them with sheshum panels—only small portions are being done where dry rot has set in.

The gilding is being done with gold-leaf, not Judson's fluid; I acknowledge it is inferior to the old work, but it is the best I can get in Delhi.

No gilding on the pillars has been renewed since I have been in charge, because the old gilding is so good that it will stand cleaning for a long time to come.

(2) *Note by Sir B. Blood, K.C.B., R.E., General Officer Commanding, Meerut District, on the ceiling of the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi.*

The decoration of this ceiling is being renewed in places, where new boards have been put up in lieu of the old boarding which has rotted away. No foliage is being repainted round the ceiling. The former decoration now visible was all done in 1875. The new is an exact copy done by the son of the man who did the old, with the best materials obtainable.

The whole place is not being regilded, only as above stated.

The "sombre," in other words faded, "scheme of colour" is entirely due to the 25 years since 1875. I do not know what "sequin" gold is.

The "inestimable old work" dates to 1875. It was partly done by the man who is now doing the repairs.

The man now at work upon it is an unutterably bad workman : his work, tremulous, hesitating, and gaudy, positively sets one's teeth on edge.

I can see no justification for the statement

The original ceiling of the Diwan-i-Khas was, I believe, silver, and was removed before 1803 ; afterwards the present decorated boards were put up. They were completely renewed and re-decorated in 1875, under the orders of Sir J. Strachey. Since then they have been kept in repair, at first by the Civil Department, lately by the Military Works Services.

So long as the boarded ceiling is left, it must be kept in repair, and when it is repaired I do not see what we can do except re-colour the patched places.

(3) *Note by Mr. H. C. Fanshawe, on the ceiling of the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi.*

The painting of the Diwan-i-Khas ceiling and its cornices is of this century and is bad, but I cannot agree with General Blood that the repairs lately done are not worse. The feeble hand of an inferior artist is to my mind very visible in the flower-work on the cornices, of which the blues and browns cannot, I agree with His Excellency's correspondent, possibly be accepted as true representations of the work of 1800—1820 even. Very possibly much of the work of 1875 was not much better, but the repaired patches are certainly somewhat worse, as such patchwork must almost invariably be. No doubt the Executive Engineer is right in saying that the best of the earlier work is painted on a chunam priming on the panels, whereas the workmen now paint on the wood itself, but this is just one of the things which trained artistic direction should be able to put right. Sir Bindon Blood considers the gilding fair, but I cannot agree in this—it is gilder's gold, and not decorator's gold, and has neither depth nor lustre in it. How could it have, if it comes out of Rs. 375 per annum ?

In the case of a wooden ceiling of a room infested by white-ants—they come out even through the interstices of the slabs of the marble columns of the Diwan-i-Khas—repairs must be done at intervals to prevent the building assuming a hopelessly decayed look. But to entrust such repairs piecemeal to any Military Works Officer or sergeant, or any Public Works Department Officer or Sub-overseer who may be on the spot at the time is of course utterly wrong, and what we need are proper drawings and proper details of colours to be used (even then the competent artist's hand may be missing) prepared by competent artistic authority to be followed when repairs are necessary ; and so much should be done, I think, and the mode of future repairs be definitely settled. We cannot, I think, help having to restore a ceiling as it needs repairs : otherwise I venture to agree wholly with His Excellency that one panel or one arch, or even one corner, of old work should be completely restored in such buildings, to show as far as possible, what it was like in its glory, and that all the rest should be left alone.

(4) *Note by Captain Watson, dated 26th February 1900, on maintenance of old buildings at Delhi.*

The care of historical buildings in Delhi Fort lies with the Military Works Services from funds supplied by the Public Works Department.

Repair, Grant, Origin, and Amount.

We get Rs. 700 per annum in all, out of which 24½% is written off to Tools and Plants and Establishment.

Malis, bhisties, and sweepers are also charged to the Estimate, so that the actual cash available for expenditure on repairs is about Rs. 375 per annum.

(5) *Note (Extracts) by Mr. Fanshawe, dated 26th April 1900, on maintenance of old buildings at Delhi.*

2. The audacity of attempting even annual repairs of even a single building in the Delhi Fort on a grant of Rs. 375 is sublime, but the remedy for such involuntary audacity is simple, viz., an adequate grant. The Military Works Department is of course about just as competent as the Civil Public Works to undertake such a work, that is to say, it is, speaking of the average officer, wholly incompetent. Skilled artistic advice must be obtained for the work, as has been done in the case of the restorations at Sikandra, but such advice is not easily obtained, though it should be obtainable from our schools of Art. Untrained eyes cannot distinguish between full and weak blues and reds, and even trained eyes may go wofully astray in dealing with only restorations of combinations of gorgeous eastern colours. The only thing satisfactory in such cases is to spend some money on actual experiments under competent advice before any general work is carried out.

5. What I should suggest as regards improvements of the Delhi Palace is as follows :—

(1) The great gateway and the arcade beyond should be relieved of all excrescences. These include on the face of the former a stove pipe and corner galleries for sweepers, painted green—they might be painted red at least—and in the latter a lot of brickwork and white-wash which must cover fine sandstone (as horses were kept in the recess rooms of the arcade under the Moguls, we need not object to shops being retained there now); (2) the removal of quarters from the Nakkar Khana and of all excrescences on it, the removal of trees in front of it, and the removal of a cook-house and latrine beyond it; (3) removal of all trees between (2) and the Diwan-i-Am; (4) inclusion in a railed-off garden space of (a) the Diwan-i-Khas and the buildings with it, (b) Rang Mahal, (c) buildings south of the Rang Mahal used as a guard-room. This would involve building a new mess-house, and perhaps some new quarters; but I should think that, with the garrison reduced to 2 companies of a British Regiment only, perhaps the latter may not be necessary. At any rate, the interior can never be other than a scene of English vandalism until so much is done, and so much should, I consider, be done in any case.

6. At the same time we are often accused unfairly in these matters. Bad as the ceiling of the Diwan-i-Khas may be, Memoirs of Bishop Heber and Travels of Bayard Taylor (about 1855) show the building was in a far worse condition in their time. We most foolishly removed the walls of the great courts in the middle of which the Nakkar Khana stood, but before 1857 these courts were disfigured by mud-houses and huts of every description which filled them up. Bad as our work has been, I expect we have spent in the last 43 years very many times more than the sum spent by the Moguls on repairs of the palace during the first 57 years of the century.

(6) See No. 3 above.

6. Note (Extracts) by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 5th May 1902, on Report of the Archaeological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period 1st January to 30th June 1901.

(7) Tomb of Sher Shah and (8) Tomb of Humayun.—Apparently the repairs that I ordered at these two buildings are in course of execution. I should like Director General to see them. Otherwise the local Public Works Department may perpetrate some horror.

(10) Diwan-i-Am and Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi.—The restoration of the mutilated *pietra dura* will have to be undertaken. Mr. Marshall and I spoke about the white inlaid marble platform below the throne. I am rather alarmed at the idea of giving the repainting of the ceiling to the best modern Delhi artist. He may be no better than the vandals of 1875-76. He must not paint a square

foot until we know where we are, and what he is worth. Director General must see to this.

7. Note by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 28th October 1902, on the stone Elephants at Delhi.

Three years ago I made a careful study of the question of the stone elephants. No one who does so can arrive at any other conclusion than that they stood before the Delhi Gate, at least in Bernier's time. Any other hypothesis is quite untenable. When the barbican was made by Aurungzeb they were doubtless removed because the barbican encroached upon their site. Where they stood before they were planted in front of the Delhi Gate, or where they were removed to afterwards is immaterial. All we have to do is to settle whether it is possible to re-erect them on approximately the same site as they originally occupied. This is a question of space and proportion.

There is, I imagine, room between the barbican and the Delhi Gate : and the elephants could be re-erected on either side of the carriage road facing towards it.

On the other hand, there are certain considerations to be borne in mind. The single restored elephant stands $14\frac{1}{2}$ feet high with its pedestal. It looks fairly well because it can be seen from a distance. Now the space enclosed by the barbican of the Delhi Gate of the Fort is 93 feet east to west and 160 feet north to south. I cannot feel at all sure how the elephants would look if they were re-erected in this enclosure. One could not see them from a distance ; they would be shut up in a sort of walled compound and they might be completely dwarfed by the height of the gate on one side and the barbican on the other. Above all, though they would be on a site closely adjacent to their position in the time of Bernier, they would not be on the exact site, and they would not have the same *mise en scène* or landscape.

Therefore the question is not so simple of solution as might at first sight appear.

Then I desire to raise another question which, strange to say, is not mentioned in these notes. My recollection is that when the fragments were discovered in 1863 (is not this right, *vice* 1862 ?) Colonel Abbott mentioned fragments of a *howdah* indicated by yellow and white marble. It is all related in the journal of the Asiatic Society, Volume XXIII.

Well, I suppose that the two heroes sat each in his *howdah* which was no doubt a flat *takhta* or throne (the *howdah* of those days). In other words, there were four figures, two on each elephant, the hero and the *mahout*. If I am right why should there be any surprise at the number of surviving heads and torsos ? They are below, not in excess of the total requirement.

Writing at a distance, without any references, I can only suggest with some caution. But what I do suggest is as follows:—

- (1) The question of the *takhta* or tray *howdah* should be looked up.
 - (2) If the indications are indubitable, then we should make an attempt to restore the *howdah* on the extant elephant; the exact designs of a *takhta* of the period can easily be procured from Rajputana or elsewhere.
 - (3) The torsos and heads should be carefully examined to see whether we can make out of them a restoration of the riders as well as the *mahout*.
 - (4) Dummies of the elephants and their riders in bamboo and painted canvas should be made and be ready for temporary erection in the space between the Delhi Gate and the barbican, so that we may see how they look. If we decide to re-construct the originals there, then the second elephant can be made. If they look ridiculous or out of proportion, then we can proceed with the further restoration of the existing animal and decide where to put him in the future. Of course it was entirely unwarrantable and improper to move and re-erect him on his present site.
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8. Notes by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, on the transfer to that Department of certain Ancient Buildings in the Delhi Fort.

It is assumed in the notes that the Local Government will everywhere consult the local military authorities and that we shall hear the views of the latter through the former. In practice I know *alas* what this means. The Punjab Government were to consult the local military authorities about evacuating the Moti Musjid and the Chhoti Kwabgah in the Lahore Fort as far back as April 1899. But three and a half years have elapsed, and we are scarcely any forwarder. They were similarly to consult the railway authorities about the Railway Mosque; three years have elapsed, and it is not yet evacuated.

I have never been able to get a thing done by the military authorities through the Local Governments without inordinate delay. If ever anything has been done it has been by going to the Military Department straight and getting them to issue orders, *e.g.*, as regards the Shwe Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, the Fort at Mandalay, and other places.

I would like the Department therefore to consult Sir E. Barrow as to what will be the best method of procedure about the forts at Delhi, Lahore, and Agra.

The garrisons kept in all these places are now insignificant, and I entertain no doubt that the majority of the buildings required for restoration could be recovered without delay.

Military Department must also produce the file about the magazines at Agra.

29-10-02.

I am much obliged to General Barrow for his prompt and sympathetic attention to the matter, and his proposals seem to me satisfactory.

9-1-03.

Our money will, of course, go to the restoration of the evacuated buildings. But surely not to the provision of officers' quarters or mess-house or swimming bath. That would be a great abuse.

27-5-03.

9. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Sir C. M. Rivaz, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, dated 30th March 1905, enclosing a note by Mr. Marshall on Archæological work at Delhi.*

The Viceroy has just read with considerable annoyance the enclosed note from Mr. Marshall. If the facts are as stated therein, His Excellency will probably make some comments upon them while at Delhi, and he thinks that you should know in advance in case you may wish to issue any instructions before you leave Lahore.

Enclosure of No. 9 :

Note by J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 7th February 1905.

I have just made a hurried visit to Delhi for the purpose of enquiring, in particular, into two matters to which my attention had been called by persons unconnected with our Survey. The first of these relates to the gardens around Humayun's Tomb, upon the restoration of which a considerable sum of money has been expended during the last two years.

When I last saw these gardens the work of excavating and repairing the water channels, tanks and causeways, and of laying out the parterres preparatory to their being turfed, had nearly been finished by the Public Works Department. That was less than twelve months ago, and a few months later the gardens were placed in charge of the local civil authorities. Their condition now is deplorable. They have been leased out for grazing and for crops; the water channels and tanks, upon the repairing of which so much labour had been expended, have been ruthlessly cut through for irrigation purposes, or broken down by the

trampling of cattle ; the parterres intended for green lawns have been converted into turnip-patches, and the causeways and paths are all over-grown with weeds. It will cost many hundreds of rupees—more perhaps than is gained by the leasing of the gardens—to make good the damage that has been done ; and unless it is made good at once, the money given for this work by the Government of India will have been spent in vain.

Humayun's Tomb is not the only case in which it has proved difficult for the district civil officials to look after this sort of work satisfactorily. I understand that a thousand rupees was paid for the turfing of Isa Khan's compound. Yet I venture to say that most of the work will have to be done over again during the coming season.

Let me urge once more that the upkeep of these gardens should be the charge of the Public Works Department, whose officers can at least be relied upon to inspect them periodically. That a building should be tended by one official, and the garden attached to it by another, surely involves a waste of energy. Let me repeat also my previous recommendation that a European gardener should be secured to superintend the work. Until this is done, it seems to me that any further expenditure will be fruitless.

* * * * *

The second matter relates to some damage recently done to the Mogul buildings in the Fort. From the testimony of the custodians, it appears that this is due to privates of the Royal Irish Rifles, now stationed in the Fort, who have been amusing themselves by picking out the *pietra dura* inlay in the Hammam, and other buildings, and by breaking away the pierced marble work of the famous Screen of Justice. A timely warning issued to the men concerned would, perhaps, prevent a recurrence of the mischief, but something might be done too, by appointing as chief custodian a man of more authority than the young private, who at present holds that post. I would suggest, also, that, if practicable, he should be selected from the gunners who, I understand, are stationed more or less permanently in the Fort, and not from regiments which are constantly being shifted about. A man of strong character and maturer years would, I believe, be able to put a stop to damage of this sort, but in the event of the mischief continuing, it might be necessary to close the buildings at Delhi to the soldiers.

Another matter which I should like to submit again for the consideration of the Government of India relates to the removal of the two modern buildings (marked 9 and 10 in the

* Not printed. accompanying plan *) which stand between the Zafar Mahal and the Infantry Barracks. A

few months ago it was agreed to let these particular buildings stand, as there was a difficulty about finding another site for them ; but excavation has since revealed that the ancient tank around the Zafar Mahal extends beneath them, and unless they are dismantled, it will be impossible to bring the intended restoration of the Hayat Bakhsh garden to a satisfactory completion.

In conclusion; let me remark that the Archæological work generally at Delhi is going on in a desultory and not altogether satisfactory, fashion, though this is due, perhaps, as much to lack of money as anything else.

10. Letter from Sir C. M. Rivaz, dated 8th April 1905, on Archæological work at Delhi.

With reference to the remarks in Mr. Marshall's note, which you sent me, on the condition of the gardens at Humayun's Tomb and Isa Khan near Delhi, I called for an explanation, and hope, from the replies I have received from the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, that the Viceroy will find when he reaches Delhi that the state of things in these gardens is not so bad as stated in the note, though I am afraid that some damage has been caused to the water channels at Humayun's Tomb. I am very sorry this should have happened, for since I came to the Punjab I have taken a personal interest in the improvement of this garden and the one at Safdar Jang on the Qutub road, and have made a special grant for such purpose.

But I do not agree with Marshall that these gardens ought to be in the charge of the Public Works Department. The Deputy Commissioner is the proper person to look after them, and I have given instructions which will, I hope, ensure their proper management and care in future.

A European gardener is no doubt wanted at Delhi. I have already applied to the Government of India for a trained man.

I wish Marshall had let me know direct and at once when he found cause for complaint in connection with any of the archæological work at Delhi. As regards the complaint at the end of his note of lack of money, I can only say that, as far as the Punjab Government is concerned, I have during the last three years increased the provincial grant for archæological work to the utmost our provincial revenues can afford.

11. ORDERS PASSED BY VICEROY ON HIS VISIT TO DELHI ON 11TH APRIL 1905.

Delhi Fort.

Lahore Gate.—(a) Remove the wooden balconies on the west façade outside the rooms recently evacuated by the Officers' Mess.

(b) Remove the wooden railings in the angles formed by the projecting bastions on the west façade.

(c) Remove the stove-pipe fixed on the west façade.

(d) Restore the spaces occupied by modern windows in the upper portion of the west façade, and remove the frames fitted with perforated zinc.

(e) Remove the plaster brick parapets, round the *chhatris* on the bastions.

(f) Repair the *chhajja* recently broken by the fall of the upper portion of the south minaret on the west façade, and restore the top of the minaret.

(g) Remove the plastered walling and window frame from the small arched opening in the centre of the west façade over the gateway.

(h) Remove the rifle racks fixed on the face of the bastion.

(i) Restore the small openings cut in the arched panels on the upper part of the bastions to form bath-room windows.

All the officers' quarters in the upper storey of the gateway will eventually be evacuated, but in the meantime such of the above repairs as do not affect the rooms occupied by officers should be proceeded with.

2. *Naubat Khana*.—(a) Remove the trees adjoining the building on the east and west sides.

(b) Remove the wooden railings and shutters, and modern pavilion walls.

(c) Owing to the steep and inconvenient nature of the staircase the upper floor cannot be used as a museum; the lower floor should therefore be fitted up for the purpose, suitable doors and showcases being provided. The exhibits in this museum should be restricted to antiquities, photographs, etc., connected with the Fort and Muhammadan buildings in and immediately around Delhi, anything not bearing directly on these being sent to the Provincial Museum at Lahore.

(d) Remove the flights of steps leading from the ground to the platform on the east and west sides, and construct suitable stone steps in the centre only of the east and west façade.

(e) A straight road should be laid down leading from the centre of the west façade of the Naubat Khana to the east end of the vaulted bazar. Remove two trees which will obstruct this road and move back the lamp-post to make way for it.

3. *The Diwan-i-Am*.—(a) The military authorities will demolish the cook-house, urinal and wash-house situated in the north-east portion of the plot of ground between the Naubat Khana and the Diwan-i-Am.

(b) Clean the throne with soap and water, and make provision in future for cleaning it periodically.

(c) Remove the iron railings from the front of the throne, and erect instead a temporary light iron railing, about 6 feet high, the vertical rods terminating in plain pointed spikes. A horizontal connecting band will be necessary near the top of the railing, but the one in the middle should be omitted.

(d) Provide a suitable teak door for the opening at the back of the throne.

(e) The Director General of Archaeology will make further inquiries as to whether an Italian mosaic worker can be procured to undertake the complete restoration of the missing mosaics.

(f) Remove the heavy prison-like doors with iron bars from the opening on the south side of the throne on the ground floor of the Diwan-i-Am, and replace them by lighter ones of teak.

(g) Finish off neatly the pavilion and wall at the back of the Diwan-i-Am and bring them into keeping with the surroundings.

4. His Excellency was given to understand by the local military authorities that the present road running from north to south along the east side of the Hayat Bakhsh garden could be dispensed with. The road therefore is to be diverted at the Naubat Khana.

5. (a) In the space between the Diwan-i-Am and the Rang Mahal the ground
Vide plan in Fergusson, page 592, and should be laid out and trees planted so as
 Fan-shawe's Delhi, page 23.

CURZON. to reproduce the lines of the rectangular garden which once existed there.

(b) Replace in the centre of this garden the marble bath which belongs there, but which is at present in the Queen's Gardens. Not far from this tank in the Queen's Gardens is another smaller one which may also be found useful in re-constructing some of the tanks in the Fort.

(c) Cover in the sewer which runs from north to south on the east side of the Diwan-i-Am.

6. *Rang Mahal*.—(a) The Archaeological Surveyor will examine the Rang Mahal and suggest measures for its renovation.

(b) The servants' quarters on the south side of the Rang Mahal should be removed, accommodation being found for them in one of the other buildings in the Fort.

7. *Diwan-i-Khas*.—(a) The garden on the west of the Diwan-i-Khas will be properly laid out along with the other gardens adjoining it, and when this is being done, care should be taken to construct the pathways on the same level as the lawns and not above them, and not to introduce any flower beds like those which at present line the path.

(b) The gate piers and railings round the compound of the Diwan-i-Khas should also be removed as soon as they can be dispensed with.

(c) Consider whether something more suitable than the present glazed wooden frames could not be inserted in the openings on the east side of the Hall.

8. *Samman Burj*.—(a) Restore the recently broken pieces of the carved marble screen in the north wall of the Samman Burj, and restore the coarsely carved patch immediately above the rectangular opening.

I suggest light pieces of wire-netting, if it is desired to prevent people from clambering through.

CURZON.

(b) Remove the copper gilt bars inserted in the rectangular opening to prevent people climbing through.

(c) Remove the iron railing south of the Samman Burj, and replace the wooden balustrade on the river front south of the Samman Burj with something more suitable.

(d) Replace the railing on the river front between the Diwan-i-Khas and the Samman Burj with one of a more suitable design.

(e) Clean off the whitewash from the north façade of the Samman Burj, and leave the shell plastered surfaces exposed.

9. *Hammam*.—(a) Tone down the new patches of marble in the Hammam.

(b) Substitute fresh work for the restored patches of marble of unsatisfactory colour and workmanship in the border of the so-called Queen's bath in the Hammam.

(c) Glaze the window lately restored in the north wall of the Queen's bathroom.

10. *Moti Musjid*.—Tone down the recently restored marble in the openings on the north of the prayer chamber.

11. *Hayat Bakhsh Garden*.—(a) His Excellency was told that the military authorities will shortly demolish two barracks and the two latrines on the west of the Hayat Bakhsh Garden.

(b) The Hayat Bakhsh Garden will then be completed as far as the old Mahtab Garden on the west, the Zafar Mahal forming the central feature.

(c) A gardener should be instructed to prepare a plan showing all the existing trees and the roads in the three gardens, *viz.* :—the Hayat Bakhsh, the plot between the Diwan-i-Am and Rang Mahal, and the plot between the Naubat Khana and the Diwan-i-Am. It can then be decided which trees are to be removed, and what alterations are to be made in the roads.

(d) The lines of the gardens may be defined by clipped and formal hedges.

(e) Plant a hedge of suitable trees to conceal the battery on the east side of the Hayat Bakhsh Garden.

(f) Iron fences, which have to remain in the Hayat Bakhsh or other gardens would look less conspicuous if painted black instead of white.

12. *Shah Burj*.—(a) Remove the traces of bath-rooms in the floors of the corner chambers.

(b) The Executive Engineer will prepare plans for the restoration of the roof of the Shah Burj in consultation with the Archaeological Surveyor.

13. *Tomb of Isa Khan*.—(a) The recently restored dwarf wall (octagonal in plan), separating the *bajri* platform round the tomb from the grass lawns, is to be constructed of coursed rubble composed of larger stones, with a capping of mortar about 2' 6" above the *bajri* platform.

Remove the small loose stones from the top of the wall and fill up any irregular gaps, making the openings to correspond symmetrically with the paths.

(b) Remove the two ruined remains of tombs on the *bajri* platform on the east and west sides of the tombs.

(c) Re-pave the portions of the floor inside the tomb, from which paving stones are missing.

(d) Arrange for the demolition of the remaining hut inside the compound of Isa Khan's Tomb.

(e) Fill with coursed rubble walling the gap in the compound wall a little to the east of the main north entrance.

(f) When a gardener is procured for Delhi, he will arrange for the planting of trees in the compound and the removal of the flower beds alongside the path.

14. *Tomb of Humayun*.—(a) It was understood that in future the upkeep of the gardens will be in charge of the civil authorities, and that the tobacco plantations and other crops will be removed. It should be made a rule that this and similar gardens, such as those at Isa Khan's and Safdar Jang's Tombs should not be let on lease for profit, but there is no objection to the sale of fruit grown in such gardens.

(b) Remove vegetation from the dome and exterior of the building.

(c) Make provision for keeping shut the screens which are intended to keep out birds and bats from the building.

(d) Provide and fix a new finial on the south *chhatri* at the entrance to the compound, to match that on the north side.

(e) Remove the painted number "75" from the entrance.

(f) Re-construct in stone the plaster channels and tanks throughout the garden, commencing with those which are most in evidence down the central paths and close to the tomb.

(g) Remove the flower pots which stand round the tanks and channels.

(h) His Excellency remarked that he would ask for an increased grant of Rs. 2,000 per annum for the upkeep of the gardens at the tombs of Humayun, Isa Khan and Safdar Jang.

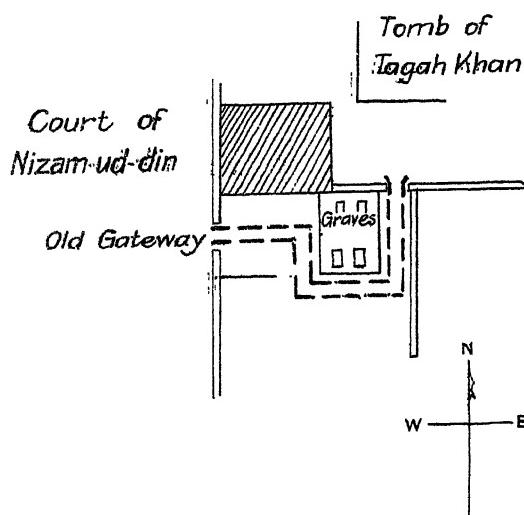
15. *The Jam'at Khana Musjid*.—(a) Remove the printed paper notices on the north side of the *mihrab*.

(b) Remove the whitewash from the central *mihrab*.

16. *Tomb of Nizam-ud-din*.—Fill up the opening in the north-west portion of the dome.

17. Restore the missing parapets and finials on the marble screens surrounding the tombs of Jahanara, Babar and Muhammad Shah at Nizam-ud-din.

18. *Tomb of Tagah Khan.*—(a) If possible make an entrance to the tomb from the courtyard of Nizam-ud-din, as shown on the sketch.



(b) Fix a new metal finial on the dome of Tagah Khan's Tomb.

* This is on the assumption that the red stone sections are later restorations of a marble original.

19. *Hall of 64 Pillars.*—(a) Substitute white marble for the red stone patches in the screens between the columns.*

CURZON.
CURZON.
20. *Purana Kila.*—(a) Fill with cement the cracks caused by the recent earthquake of the 4th April 1905.

(b) Restore one fallen battlement which is missing from the east façade.

W. H. NICHOLLS,

Archaeological Surveyor,

United Provinces and Punjab.

14th April 1905.

12. *Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir C. M. Rivaz, dated 21st April 1905, on gardens of Humayun's tomb, etc.*

I went carefully into the question of the gardens of Humayun, etc., while at Delhi : and have sent for the papers about getting a gardener which ought to be pushed through without delay. In the meantime the Deputy Commissioner is, I believe, about to put up a request to you to raise the annual allowance

for the Humayun, Isa Khan, and I think Safdar Jang gardens to Rs. 2,000. With the present small allowance they are compelled to grow crops like tobacco and admit cattle for grazing. These proceedings are of course quite wrong, though I said that there would be no objection to planting fruit trees such as mangoes and making a little money from them. I hope that you will pass the grant before you leave.

13. Letter (Extract) from Sir C. M. Rivaz, dated 24th April 1905, on gardens of Humayun's tomb, etc.

I will gladly increase the grant for the gardens at Humayun's Tomb, etc. The present grant is what Douglas Parsons' predecessor asked for. Had Parsons said sooner that it was insufficient, I would have increased it at once.

14. Letter (Extract) from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 30th April 1905, on the plans of the Delhi Fort.

2. A useful plan of the Delhi Fort, such as His Excellency requires, is not in existence, but I am having one prepared to accompany the instructions for Mr. Griessen, and I should be greatly obliged if you could let me have for a few days the plans on linen of the Hayat Bakhsh Garden and of the old buildings in the Fort, which are in His Excellency's possession. They are my office copies and will save me sending for others.

3. As regards the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi the plinth was laid bare to its full height about a year ago, some two feet of earth being removed.

15. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 5th May 1905, on the plastering of the columns of the Diwan-i-Am.

When you were at Delhi with His Excellency you expressed a doubt whether the columns of the Diwan-i-Am there had ever been plastered. Not only is this expressly stated by both Bernier and Tavernier, but the white *chunam* was still on the pillars when Sleeman saw them in 1836, and when Von Orlich saw them

in 1843 (he even mistook the *chunam* for white marble). It must, therefore, have been stripped off at some later date, no doubt by the British.

16. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 9th June 1905, on the purchase of a sketch of the Musamman Burj in the Delhi Fort.*

His Excellency the Viceroy thinks you might like to see the accompanying sketch of the Musamman Burj on the river wall of the Palace at Delhi. It belongs to a Delhi tradesman and can be purchased for Rs. 5.

The interest of the picture lies in the fact that it represents the old appearance of the wall between the Musamman Burj and the Rang Mahal.

Where now is a black iron railing, you will see there was a red sandstone screen, in the centre of which—where there is now an open platform projecting from the wall—was a white marble balcony. His Excellency thinks that this may profitably be borne in mind with a view to future restoration.

17. *Letter (Extract) from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 12th June 1905, on the purchase of a picture of the Musamman Burj in the Delhi Fort.*

I am greatly obliged for the little picture of the Musamman Burj in the Delhi Fort. It is well worth purchasing. Would you please let me know if His Excellency wants it, or if he will allow me to procure it for the new museum in the Fort?

18. *Letter (Extract) from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 13th June 1905, on the purchase of a picture of the Musamman Burj in the Delhi Fort.*

Thank you for your letter of the 12th June about various Archaeological matters. I have laid it before His Excellency the Viceroy.

I am to ask you to purchase the little picture of the Musamman Burj for the new museum in the Fort, as you propose. I am paying for the picture along with some others. Will you therefore send the Rs. 5 to me?

19. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 21st June 1905, on the removal of certain buildings in the Delhi Fort.*

I have laid your letter of the 19th June before the Viceroy. His Excellency agrees with your suggestion that such buildings as have been demolished should be indicated by shrubberies and flowers, and he adds as follows:—"Where the confines of a court or quadrangle require demarcation a low hedge would probably be the best agency."

His Excellency asked the Military Department to see about the removal of certain modern structures some weeks ago, and I am enquiring how matters now stand and will inform you.

20. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 27th June 1905, on the demolition of certain building in the Delhi Fort.*

I am informed by Colonel Watkis that the demolition of the privy between the Naubat Khana and the Diwan-i-Am in the Delhi Fort will be completed by the end of this month.

21. *Letter (Extract) from Military Secretary to Viceroy, to the Secretary to the Defence Committee, dated 23rd October 1905, on the glacis outside the walls of the Delhi Fort.*

I am desired by His Excellency the Viceroy to address the Defence Committee on a subject about which he has already spoken to His Excellency the President of the Committee, and which he would be greatly obliged if the Committee could dispose of, so as to enable the Viceroy to pass orders during his forthcoming final tour.

It relates to the now obsolete defences of the Delhi and Agra Forts.

In neither case does it appear in the least likely that the Fort would be held again by a European force in the event of a Mutiny. The conditions of defence have therefore changed.

In the case of the Delhi Fort, His Excellency is anxious to remove the unsightly glacis which was thrown up on the city face of the Fort after the Mutiny. This great mound obscures the lower part of the walls to a height of 10—15 feet, and prevents their true height and proportions from being seen.

It is very desirable to remove it, in connection with the work of archæological restoration that is now proceeding. No similar glacis exists at Agra or Lahore, or in the case of any other Mogul Fort, that is now mainly kept up for antiquarian or historical reasons.

His Excellency the Viceroy will be at Delhi on October 29th-30th, November 1st, and at Agra on November 11th—14th, and it would be a great satisfaction to him if the Defence Committee could consider the matter and favour him with their views at an anterior date.

22. Letter (Extract) from the Secretary to the Defence Committee, dated 27th October 1905, on the glacis outside the walls of the Delhi Fort.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 23rd October 1905, regarding the removal of the glacis at Delhi Fort.

2. The glacis was placed round the fort at Delhi to enable the ground immediately in front of the ditch to be properly swept by fire from the fort.

3. The question of the abandonment of Delhi Fort was very carefully considered in 1901. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor was averse to it on political grounds, and the Defence Committee were unanimous in supporting him, and were also opposed to the formation of more than one place of refuge at Delhi. The Government of India in 1903 sanctioned certain improvements to the defences of the fort as the outcome of the decision to maintain it.

4. The Defence Committee therefore regret that they are unable to agree to the removal of the glacis round the fort so long as the latter remains the place of refuge at Delhi.

23. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 31st October 1905.

There are a few points which the Viceroy wanted to settle on his last visit to Delhi, but upon which you may be able to give him a written opinion :

(1) In the Diwan-i-Khas exactly what extent is the decoration on the walls, inlay of coloured stones or painting of patterns on marble background ? Does one form of decoration prevail in one part and another in another part, or are they combined ?

- (2) In some books about Delhi the Viceroy has seen allusions to the still surviving traces of the inner enclosure which, as far as he remembers, had silver railings and was 20 feet square below the throne in the Diwan-i-Am. Are there any traces of the sockets of this railing in the Diwan-i-Am and are there no traces whatsoever of the outer enclosures similar to that which still exists at Lahore ?
 - (3) Tavernier describes the domes of the Moti Musjid as being gilt. Are there any traces of this left ?
 - (4) In the Diwan-i-Am are there steps ascending to the throne platform from the hall as well as the entrance from the back ? Are there any traces of plaster left on any of the columns or ceiling of the Diwan-i-Am ?
 - (5) Cooper in his book about Delhi says that there is a balustrade between the outer columns of the Diwan-i-Khas. Are there any traces of these ?
 - (6) Cooper also speaks of two sun-dials in the Jumma Musjid in Delhi. What has become of these ?
 - (7) Have the cook-houses and other buildings, to the removal of which the Viceroy obtained the assent of the Military authorities, in the Fort at Delhi been taken away ?
 - (8) Are there any traces of the walls that ran to the north and south of the Naubat Khana connecting it with the outer arcades of the main quadrangle ?
 - (9) Are there any traces of the big tank outside the wall of the Delhi Fort a little way to the south of the Lahore Gate ? Presumably not ; the Viceroy thinks that it must have been filled up when the glacis was built.
 - (10) Please report on the present position of the stone elephants and their riders.
 - (11) Have the reforms ordered by His Excellency in April last and recorded by Mr. Nicholls in his note of the 14th April been carried out ?
 - (12) What steps are being taken to replace the fearful barricade in front of the throne in the Diwan-i-Am by a lighter iron rail ?
 - (13) What progress is being made with the Hayat Bakhsh Gardens ?
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RESTORATION TO THE DIWAN-I-AM AT DELHI OF PANELS IN THE VICTORIA
AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

1. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. Godley, dated 31st July 1902.*

There is another matter upon which I have for long meant to invoke the assistance of the Secretary of State. The largest building in the Delhi Fort is the Diwan-i-Am, or Throne Room of Shah Jahan. In it I shall hold the great Investiture in January next. The throne of the Great Mogul stood on a sort of raised terrace under a baldachino projecting from the interior wall. Behind the throne the wall is, or was, covered with mosaics in panels of black marble, the workmanship of Austin de Bordeaux, a Frenchman in the service of Shah Jahan, and the sole examples of this work in India. These mosaics represented birds and flowers and the central panel represented Orpheus in coloured stones, seated upon a rock and playing a violin.

At the time of the Mutiny, a great many of these panels (which are quite small) were picked out or mutilated. Captain, afterwards Sir John, Jones took away 12 of them—the best—4 larger and 7 smaller panels and Orpheus—and sold them all to the British Government for £500. They have ever since been in the South Kensington Museum, where Purdon Clarke would show them to you. Now I want the British Government to be good enough to restore these *plagues*, which I propose to replace in their original places. The Diwan-i-Am will be most carefully restored (so far as this is necessary) before the Durbar: and it seems a shame that we should have to insert sham panels in these empty places, while the originals, pilfered by an Englishman, are all the while lying, unnoticed by a human being, in a Museum in London. If the Home Government want to do the handsome thing, they will make a present of the pieces to us. For £500 they have had them for over 40 years. If not, we will buy them back at the same price.

Do you think you could move the right authorities and set the matter going, or shall we address you officially? It seems to me scarcely conceivable that the suggestion will be rejected, and my only surprise is that no one has been found to make it before. If we could not put them back in their exact positions, or if we could not guarantee their future security, I could understand refusal. But as we can do both, there seems no excuse for their present uncongenial habitat.

Do help me in the matter. I am pleading in the truest interest of art.

2. Note by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 16th September 1902.

The accompanying draft, which I have written, explains itself. Some time ago I wrote to Sir A. Godley and asked him whether I might count upon the co-operation of the India Office in securing the restitution of the Diwan-i-Am mosaics to which I refer. He has answered in the affirmative, but has suggested that the case should be put forward in an official letter. If we are to get back the panels in time to have them replaced before the Delhi functions, the despatch should issue by the outgoing mail. I cannot doubt that it will be accepted without demur by my Hon'ble Colleagues, and that (after seeing this explanation which should be circulated with the despatch for signature) they will be willing to append their signatures. It only remains to secure the assent of the Finance Department, since a possible, though unlikely, expenditure of £500 is involved. Finance will also say whether in the despatch we should signify our acceptance of this charge, or whether we must ask the assent of the Secretary of State to it.

As soon, therefore, as the draft has been seen and approved (as I hope) by Mr. Ibbetson, will he kindly send it over to Mr. Finlay this afternoon for his opinion on the above points ?

The draft may then be finally printed and circulated for signature to-morrow.

3. Despatch to Secretary of State (Revenue No. 61), dated 18th September 1902.

We desire to invoke Your Lordship's assistance in a matter which we regard, from the artistic and archæological point of view, as one of no small importance.

2. Among the principal buildings in the Fort at Delhi is the Diwan-i-Am, or Hall of Public Audience of the Emperor Shah Jahan. This great hall, which still survives intact, contained the Throne of the Great Mogul. It stood upon a sort of raised terrace of white marble, inlaid with coloured stones, with a marble baldachino or canopy above it, the whole structure projecting into the hall from the interior wall. The throne was approached by its occupant from the back through a doorway, pierced in a recess in the wall. The main feature of this recess was the exquisite mosaic work of marble and coloured stones with which its surface was entirely adorned. More particularly was the decoration here employed remarkable for the mosaics of coloured stones, inlaid, in designs of birds and flowers, in a background of black marble. These are believed to have been the workmanship of Austin de Bordeaux, the celebrated French artificer, who was employed by the Emperor Shah Jahan both in the Palace at Delhi and upon the Taj at Agra, and they are the sole examples in India of this rare and beautiful art. The most justly

famous among these mosaics was one with a background of lighter colour, representing the figure of Orpheus, seated under a tree, surrounded by listening animals, and engaged in playing a violin.

3. At the time of the Mutiny in 1857, a good many of these panels, which are quite small, were picked out, or mutilated. Twelve of them, including the representation of Orpheus, as well as four larger and seven smaller panels, were appropriated by Captain, afterwards Sir John, Jones, and were sold by him to the British Government for £500. They have, we believe, ever since been preserved in the South Kensington, now the Victoria and Albert Museum.

4. The proposal which we desire to submit to Your Lordship is that these plaques should be recovered and restored to their original places. We are at present engaged upon a careful restoration of the principal buildings of the Mogul Emperors both at Agra and Delhi. In most cases we are compelled to reproduce to the best of our ability work that has already perished or been destroyed beyond recognition. But in this case, it would seem a pity, and indeed inexcusable, to conduct any such process of artificial renovation, when the original panels, appropriated by an Englishman, are all the while lying in a London Museum. We conceive that the truest canons of art will be directly subserved by their restitution to their original site. Did we ask that they should merely be transferred from a London to an Indian Museum, were we unable to replace them in their exact original situation, or were we not in a position to guarantee their future security, there might be insufficient ground for our request. As it is, since we are able to offer all the above-named guarantees, we confidently appeal both to Your Lordship and to the Department that is responsible for the Victoria and Albert Museum for co-operation in the laudable object which we have in view.

5. We think it not unlikely that His Majesty's Government may be moved by the considerations that we have put forward, to restore to India without any cost, these treasures of which England has enjoyed the possession for more than 40 years. Should this not be the case, we are willing ourselves (subject to Your Lordship's concurrence) to buy them back at the same price, *viz.*, £500, at which it is understood that they were originally sold.

6. There is the greater appropriateness and urgency in the submission of our request at the present time, since the important ceremony of the Investiture of the two Indian Orders, to be held in connection with the Delhi Coronation rejoicings in January next, will be conducted by His Excellency the Viceroy in the Diwan-i-Am in the Fort; his seat as Grand Master being placed immediately below the marble throne of the Great Mogul. On such an occasion it would appear to be singularly desirable that the background of the throne should represent to the assembled spectators, by a careful restoration to its original condition, not the vandalism of an earlier generation, but the generous enlightenment of a later and more cultured age.

4. *Despatch from Secretary of State (Revenue No. 182), dated 14th November 1902.*

With reference to the letter of Your Excellency's Government No. 61 (Revenue and Agriculture), dated 18th September 1902, I forward a copy of correspondence from which you will observe that His Majesty's Board of Education has agreed to restore to India, for replacement in the Diwan-i-Am at Delhi, the panels of mosaics which were acquired by His Majesty's Government from Captain Jones.

2. The case containing the panels has been despatched to Karachi by the S.S. *Springwell*, sailing on the 8th November, and has been addressed to Dr. George Watt, C.I.E., Officer in Charge of the Delhi Exhibition.

Enclosures of No. 4:

(1) *Letter from Sir A. Godley, to the Secretary, Board of Education, dated 16th October 1902.*

I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to forward, for the consideration of the Board of Education, a copy of a letter from the Government of India, requesting that the Board of Education may be invited to authorize the restoration to India, for replacement in the Hall of Audience at Delhi, of certain panels of mosaics which were purchased after the Mutiny by the British Government from Captain Jones and are believed to be in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

I am to say that Lord George Hamilton trusts that the Board of Education may be able to accede to the Government of India's request. It will be observed that the Government of India are prepared to repay the British Treasury the £500 spent in acquiring the panels, if this condition is insisted on.

I am to ask that the matter may be regarded as urgent, and to suggest that if the question of repayment is likely to occasion delay, it might be left for subsequent settlement.

(2) *Letter from W. Abney, Esq., Secretary, Board of Education, to the Under Secretary of State, dated 21st October 1902.*

With reference to your letter of the 16th instant, forwarding copy of a letter from the Government of India, requesting the restoration to India, for replacement in the Hall of Audience, Delhi, of certain panels of mosaics now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, I am directed to acquaint you, for the information of the Secretary of State for India in Council, that the Board have been pleased to accede to this request, and, under the circumstances, will not require the repayment of the amount originally spent in acquiring the panels.

RESTORATION OF THE MOGUL THRONE AT DELHI.

1. Letter from Chevalier O. Ghilardi, Acting Consul-General for Italy, to
J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 28th August 1903.

In reply to your demi-official No. 870, dated the 24th instant, I have the pleasure to inform you that it will be very easy to get the two sculptors and the *mosaicista* from Italy.

In both the professions clever men are earning about ten Lire Italian per day in Carrara and in Florence. I think they would be very glad to come in India at a salary of Rs. 350 per month equal to Francs 581.70, with an agreement of three years and the prospect of renewing the same or to settle themselves here on their own account. The first thing they will ask for, is a second-class ticket for coming out. It would not be very difficult to find the said men with a fair knowledge of the English idiom as several went abroad for some years for their profession.

The workman in *pietra dura*, as well as the two sculptors for figure and geometrical designs, floral, etc., will not be workmen in the strict sense of the word, but they will be artists; of course not first-class ones, but skilled men in their craft.

If you like, I can ask the Prefects of Carrara and Florence to find out the *pucca* men for you with the following conditions :—

“ Two sculptors, one for figures and the other for ornamental work (*ornato*), and a *mosaicista* can get work with the Government of India for three years. Men with a little knowledge of English will be preferred :—

“ 1st.—The Government will pay a second-class ticket from Genoa to Calcutta and from Calcutta to the town where they will have to work. The Government does not pay a return ticket.

“ 2nd.—They will receive a salary of Rs. 350 per month, equal to Francs 581.70.

“ 3rd.—The agreement will be for three years only. The Government reserving the right to renew it for other three years or less if necessary.

“ 4th.—Besides their own work the three artists will have the duty to superintend all the native workmen who will be placed under their own direction and teaching.

“ 5th.—The three artists will provide for their own board and lodging.

“ 6th.—The Government will take good care of them and in case of illness a doctor will attend to them free.

“ 7th.—The three artists must be young, with a good and strong physical constitution and of a good moral character.

"8th.—Should any of the three men be found not well acquainted with his profession, the Government will have the right to dismiss him. In such a case a second-class ticket will be supplied by the Government.

Note.—The men would have a good prospect of settling themselves in India at the end of their agreement, as there are many chances of getting work from Indian Princes as well as from the public at large."

I shall be very glad to help you at any moment in this matter.

2. *Letter (Extract) from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 30th April 1905.*

4. I have just put together a note about the Florentine *mosaicista*, and send it along with some drawings, Major Cole's Volume on Delhi, and a box of specimens of stones procurable in India.

I do not think that it will be possible to furnish more specific information regarding the kinds of stones required from Italy or their quantity than I have given in my note. Most of those used in Italy have only Italian names, and colour-effects depend often upon variations in the same species of stone, so that it is impossible to give explicit instructions as to their selection.

I have several other coloured drawings of panels which have disappeared, but in none of them is it possible to identify any of the stones employed, and it would not, therefore, I think serve any purpose to send them to Italy.

There is a suggestion in my note that an advance for the purchase of stones and tools might be sent through the British Consul in Florence. The arrangement seems rather an unwieldy one, but I could not think of any other by which we could safeguard ourselves, unless the Ambassador in Rome were willing to see the matter through. If His Excellency approves of an advance being made, it could be allotted at once from our special lakh.

When the Viceroy has seen the four coloured drawings (marked A, B, C, and D) would you kindly let me have them back for a day before the mail goes out, so that I can have copies made of them? I am afraid that they may get lost in transit.

3. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 4th May 1905.*

I desire to invoke your kind assistance in a matter which will, I am sure, appeal to your cultured interest. Being ill in bed, it is a convenience to me (and I hope will not be less so to you) to have this letter printed.

In the old palace of the Moguls at Delhi there still exist the marble alcove and platform on which the Mogul Emperors took their seat upon the Peacock Throne. At the back of the recess the white marble wall was originally inlaid (in about 1640 or possibly later) with *pietra dura* mosaics, representing birds and flowers, by Italian workmen. These were uniformly inlaid on a black marble back ground. The appearance of the whole may be gathered from the first plate in the big portfolio which I am sending with this. The third plate indicates the places occupied by a few of the panels which I recovered two years ago from the South Kensington Museum and restored to their original site. The remaining panels are either empty, or have been badly restored by Indian workmen, or have been filled with coarse lacquer imitations of the original designs.

I am anxious, before I leave India, to repair, or at least to set in hand the repair, of this interesting and remarkable artistic monument—the only one of its sort in India. It is clear to me that it can only be satisfactorily done by Florentine artificers; just as it was by them that it was originally created. I therefore turn to you to ask you to be so good as to further my design.

The accompanying Note, which has been written by my Director General of Archæology, will explain sufficiently clearly what it is that we want. I send at the same time a box containing samples of the coloured stones which we already possess in India and which would not require to be imported by the workman.

It has occurred to me that if you were to appeal to the Italian Minister of Fine Arts, he might be willing to communicate with Florence and so to procure for us the sort of man that we desire. I can hardly believe that he would ask £200—£300 per annum; but it may be so. He must in any case be highly competent.

As regards the assortment of stones that he should bring out with him, I send four separate coloured drawings which indicate exactly the sort of work that he will be expected to do. Upon telegraphic notice we can make an advance through our Consul at Florence or otherwise, of any sum in reason that may be required.

I hope that these explanations will be sufficient, and that you may be able, through the kind offices of the art-loving Italian authorities, to help us. We would like the *mosaicista* as soon as he can be engaged. Travelling to India is quite possible during the monsoon which sets in here in the third week of June.

Hoping that you will not think me wrong in appealing to you for such an object, and thanking you gratefully in advance for any assistance.

Enclosure of No. 3:

Note by J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 30th April 1905.

The first plate in Major Cole's Volume on Delhi shows the general character of the designs on the throne. The work for which the Italian craftsman is required is the restoration of the panels of black marble inlaid with coloured stones in devices of birds and flowers, which there is reason to suppose were either imported from Italy, or were executed by Italian workmen in India. The arabesques and other designs which fill the interspaces between these panels are of pure Indian workmanship and can well be restored by Indian craftsmen at the present day.

Of the panels, many are entirely missing, and of those which remain the majority are merely modern restorations executed some twenty years ago in an inferior style and with inferior materials. There still exist, however, enough of the original plaques to guide us in the matter of style, technique, and materials in restoring the remainder, and the coloured drawings which we possess of some of the more important panels which have now disappeared, will enable us, I think, to complete the designs with the assistance of a highly qualified artist.

The kind of man, then, that we want is an experienced craftsman—a *mosaicista*—from one of the Florentine workshops, who is intimately acquainted with the technique of *pietra dura*. His work for the most part will be imitative, and there will be little scope for originality, but he should, nevertheless, be capable of designing simple patterns of flowers and birds and of putting in the natural shades of colour with feeling. A slight knowledge of English is also desirable.

From information received regarding the scale of wages in Italy, it is thought that such a man could be secured for a salary of from £ 200 to £ 300 per annum. In addition to which he would receive a second class fare from Florence to Delhi, and a return fare, provided he did not leave the service of Government at his own request within a period of two years from

It would, I think, be necessary to have a definite agreement drawn up.

the date of his appointment, and provided he intended to return back to Florence. The Government would also undertake to furnish him with house accommodation.

Before leaving Italy, he should provide himself with at least two sets of hand tools and any other portable materials that he thinks he may require, as the tools used by Indian craftsmen may not be of the kind to which Italians are accustomed. The larger tools in use in this country, such as lathes or wheels for polishing, will, it is believed, be found in every respect suitable.

He should also bring with him from Italy a large assortment of such stones as he will require for the *pietra dura* work. In particular, he will need some large blocks of finely grained, pure black marble or slate, which is used for the background of the panels ; say, two blocks, 2 feet square × 1 foot thick, and four blocks, 1 foot square and of the same thickness.

As regards the coloured stones, the picture of Orpheus in Pl. II of Major Cole's book, which is a very accurate representation of the original, will enable him to identify a few that are used in the throne. The four separate coloured drawings (A. B. C. D.), also, will give a more correct idea of what is required in some of the other panels than can be obtained

from the small scale drawing of the throne in Major Cole's book, although these drawings are not accurate enough to show what precise species of stones were employed. But the best course will be for the *mosaicista* to select all the different Italian stones which he thinks may be required for the work.

His selection should be a large one, and he should take care that the shades of colour in each species are well varied, so that he may have all the material that he wants at hand and may not have to send at once to Italy for more stones. It will suffice if he brings with him enough material for the inlay, let us say, of 12 panels of the size of figure A, and 100 of the size of figure B, each panel containing a different design, but it should be noted that there are a number of stones which can be readily purchased in India, and which it will be unnecessary therefore for him to procure in Italy. A box containing specimens of many of these Indian stones accompanies this Note. The majority of them, of which we possess only the Indian names, cannot be identified except by actual comparison with Italian stones, but the better known ones are as follows:—Cornelian, sard, chalcedony, agate, onyx, green or red jasper, bloodstone, malachite lapislazuli, amethyst, and all precious stones, such as cat's eye turquoise, topaz, etc. Also white and grey marble of fine quality, granite and gneiss, and various red and yellow sandstones besides steatite, haematite, and the like. All these can be procured in India.

If any specimens of Florentine *pietra dura* work of the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries are accessible in Florence the *mosaicista* should make a point of consulting them and of being guided by them in his choice of stones, particularly if they contain representations of birds and flowers. But, if no specimens of that date are available, he must be guided by the more modern ones, coupled, of course, with the illustrations that are sent him.

The cost of whatever materials or tools he brings will be borne by Government, and an advance might be sent through the English Consul in Florence who might perhaps be asked to make an inventory of the materials and send it to us.

It may be added that three or four Indian artizans, skilled in *pietra dura*, will be given to the Italian as assistants, but that they will only be useful for the cutting, fixing, and polishing of the stones.

4. Letter from R. Bagot, Esq., Rome, dated 24th May 1905

Sir Edwin Egerton has asked me if I could assist him in finding a Florentine artizan competent to execute the *pietra dura* work on the throne of the Mogul Emperors at Delhi which you are desirous of restoring. I have every hope of being able to find a skilled and competent *mosaicista*, who would imitate and continue the work according to the designs and instructions you caused to be sent to our Ambassador here.

I am going to Florence to-morrow taking with me the designs and your letter to Sir Edwin—and as I happen to be a member of the Leonardo da Vinci Society there and to know the artistic and official authorities of the place, I feel sure that I shall receive full and friendly assistance from such men as Professor Ricci, the

Director of the Uffizi, and Professor Supino, of the Bargello, who are probably the first authorities in Florentine art of the Renaissance period ; and they, I have no doubt, will allow the artist who may be considered competent to have free access to the best specimens of the *pietra dura* work in their museums.

I shall communicate with Sir Edwin the result of my search, and await his decision before finally engaging any artizan who might answer to your requirements. I fear the difficulty may lie in finding a man who would be willing to leave Italy for two years ; but, at the same time, the terms offered by your Government are such as, one would imagine, would induce any *mosaicista* anxious to make a career for himself to accept them. Unfortunately, the art of inlaying in *pietra dura* has gone out of fashion of late years ; and now-a-days few of the younger men find it worth their while to learn it—the modern Florentine mosaic being almost entirely done by women and boys who afterwards adopt another trade. I fear, too, that it will be very difficult to find a man with any knowledge of English. However I will do my best, and shall have the most competent advisers in Florence to assist me in my search, so I hope to be the means of providing you with what you require !

It will be an additional pleasure to me if I am able to send out a good artist to you, and recall myself to your memory after a good many years ; as I do not think we have met since our expedition to Mount Athos and Meteora with Alfred Farquhar.

5. Letter from R. Bagot, Esq., Florence, dated 30th May 1905.

I am sending this line to follow my letter to you of last week concerning the finding of an artizan in *pietra dura* work for the work you require done to the throne of the Mogul Emperors.

I am, I hope, in a fair way to find you a suitable man—thanks to the kindness of various officials here in Florence, and notably that of Cavaliere Marchionni, the Director of the *Reale Opificio delle pietre dure*, which is the State “workshop” for the execution of the repairs and restorations of the old *pietra dura* works in the Churches and other buildings, now national monuments. I have explained that you are anxious that the artizan should start for India not later than the 23rd June, and it only remains to be seen whether a man can be found ready to leave at such short notice. In the meantime, I have asked Sir Edwin Egerton at once to forward to the Cavaliere Marchionni the specimens of stones which he (Sir Edwin) writes to me this morning have arrived at the Embassy. Before I leave Florence for England I shall place Cavaliere Marchionni in direct communication with our Ambassador, and the final agreements with any artizan eventually engaged can be drawn up here through the English Consul, who, I conclude, will

receive from Sir Edwin Egerton full powers to conclude matters and advance the necessary funds for the man's travelling expenses and the purchase of material and tools to take out with him.

6. *Telegram from Sir E. H. Egerton, Rome, dated 31st May 1905.*

Hear of suitable workman ready to start if passage granted for wife also.

7. *Telegram from British Ambassador, Rome, dated 6th June 1905.*

Will see mosaicist at Florence. If satisfied, shall I engage or write first ? Asks £300 yearly. How will journey money be advanced and payment for stones ?

8. *Letter from Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 14th June 1905.*

When I got your letter last month I asked opinions, and was advised not to apply officially to the Ministry, but to address myself direct to the Head of the State Works in *pietra dura* at Florence, as more likely by this means to get a competent man. I could not go to Florence myself, and charged Mr. Richard Bagot, who was going there, with this commission. After seeing M. Marchionni, the Head of the State Works, he selected an artist highly recommended—Albert Menegatti—no longer very young, but who has great experience and knowledge having, amongst other things, worked at Ravenna and Venice. Mr. Bagot appears to have taken a great deal of trouble and to be satisfied as to the choice, and mentioned that the man is married, without children, and wants to take his wife, and asks £300 a year outside of the price you mentioned.

I cannot decide till I go to Florence, which cannot be before 10 days—In case he will not do, Bagot and the Consul tell me there is another man in the Royal Factory, who is also highly recommended.

If I am satisfied that I have found a proper man—he would go off by the Italian steamer from Naples about the 19th of July. I will fix the price you mentioned—£500—for two years, and besides there will be the second-class fare to Delhi.

I am beginning to think I should have been wiser in writing officially to the Minister to select a man, as you suggested, but I was assured this did not at all ensure a high class *mosaicist*, and that I might be foisted off with one of the usual sort employed by the dealers.

9. *Letter from Viceroy, to R. Bagot, Esq., dated 15th June 1905.*

I count it a most fortunate thing that you were in Rome when I wrote to Sir E. Egerton, qualified by your profound knowledge and artistic taste to help me in the matter of the *mosaicista*, and willing to do so for *auld lang syne*. People who have visited Vatopedion together and have together heard the nightingales sing off those shores have an enduring tie of sentiment and art.

I am sorry to hear that the art of working in *pietra dura* has gone out of fashion in recent years, but from the salary demanded by our Florentine friend I consider that he must be among the surviving masters of the art, in which case we shall welcome him warmly, and try and make things pleasant for him.

Since we last met I have often heard from a distance of your remarkable and successful work.

10. *Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 2nd July 1905.*

I am obliged for the copies of Mr. Bagot's letters regarding the Florentine *mosaicista*. As the artizan may be arriving in India in the course of a week or two, arrangements will have to be made about his quarters at Delhi. I do not know if you have already communicated with the Punjab Government about him. If not, shall I do so? Or will you take up the matter yourself? We must settle, too, what is to be done about his assistants.

11. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 3rd July 1905.*

In reply to your letter of yesterday, I enclose a copy of a letter which the Viceroy received from Sir Edwin Egerton by last mail. You will see that, unless

we hear to the contrary, we may expect the *mosaicista* to leave Naples on the 19th of July for a term of two years' service in India.

His Excellency thinks that it will be well if you will kindly take up the question of the *mosaicista's* quarters at Delhi, and the further question of his assistants.

Enclosure of No. 11—See No. 8.

12. *Telegram from British Ambassador, Rome, dated 11th July 1905.*

Have seen Government Mosaic Director, Florence. Leave final decision respecting to him; limit of pay £500 for two years, besides journey of man and wife and purchase of materials. Advance £100 necessary.

13. *Letter from Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 11th July 1905.*

I at last got to Florence and saw the Director of the Government Mosaic Works about the man it is proposed to send to India—whom Mr. Bagot found.

To my surprise I found that the Director did not know whether he was trained in design, though that he was a good mosaicist worker he was certain.

I begged him, therefore, to examine him and let me know before the end of the week.

He said roughly that he thought the materials he would have to get would cost about 300 or 400 lire.

I told him that Mr. Bagot was mistaken in thinking that £300 a year would be paid to the man—that £500 for two years was the limit, exclusive of his journey and that of his wife.

As the steamer starts on the 18th, he could not now leave before the 18th of August. If his wife accompanies him, he will want an advance of at least £100 for the journey and to buy tools and materials.

14. Telegram from Viceroy, to British Ambassador, Rome, dated 12th July 1905.

Sincere thanks for your courteous and invaluable assistance. Money being wired to Consul, Florence. Please inform him.

15. Telegram from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Comptroller and Auditor-General, Calcutta, dated 12th July 1905.

Viceroy will be much obliged if you will kindly remit by wire £100 to British Consul at Florence. On learning equivalent from you I will at once forward amount.

16. Letter from A. F. Cox, Esq., C.S.I., Comptroller and Auditor-General, dated 14th July 1905.

I have not been able to remit the £100 *direct* to Florence. It has been telegraphed to London and will be paid from thence by a telegraphic transfer to the British Consul at Florence. The cost of the remittance to London is Rs. 1,511-4-0. I will advise you of the amount of the London charges as soon as I know them, and the settlement of the business had better be postponed for the present.

17. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 18th July 1905.

Mr. Cox, the Comptroller-General, has remitted £100 to the British Consul at Florence on account of the purchase of stones for the Delhi Throne and the journey expenses of the *mosaicista*. The limit of pay fixed for the latter for two years is £500. The Viceroy originally believed that the total expenditure would amount to about £200 or £300, and that the time occupied would be much less than the period of two years which you suggest. His Excellency now proposes to contribute the total sum of £300, namely, £250 which will cover the first year's salary and £50 towards the cost of bringing out the artificer.

The Viceroy will be glad if, when you learn from me the total sum to be paid in rupees on account of the remittance, you will pay the amount to the Com-

troller-General. The Viceroy will later on send a cheque to the Department for the £300.

18. Letter from Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 18th July 1905.

I have received your telegram, and have told the Consulate at Florence that an advance is sent telegraphically, and that an agreement must be drawn up for Albert Menegatti and my signature—for a two years' engagement of £500 (for the two years) with lodging found in India, and return journey on satisfactory completion of his task. His wife's journey will also be paid. He will leave by the Italian steamer which sails from Genoa on the 17th of August.

In consequence of the Consulate stupidly telling the *Times'* correspondent of the object of my going to Florence, I have been pestered by Salviati and other mosaic manufacturers (who, I believe, make the wrong sort of mosaic for the work in question), and have also received the enclosed from a lady whose relations have apparently looted, or connived at looting, the Mogul Palace. I answer her that I have informed you, but do not think you will repurchase, what has been taken from the Royal Palace !

Should not some one meet Menegatti on landing at Bombay and help him for his railway journey.

Enclosure of No. 18:

Letter from Miss Henrietta G. Clarke, daughter of the late Major-General J. Clarke, 25th Bengal Native Infantry, Commissioner of the Khyrabad Division, Oudh, to Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 13th July 1905.

In the *Morning Post* of Tuesday last, July 11th, there is a paragraph stating that Your Excellency has had an interview at Florence with the Cavaliere Marchionni, the Manager of the hard stone works, with reference to securing the services of a mosaic artist to restore the throne in the palace of the Moguls at Delhi.

Our family has in its possession a small portion of the footstool of the Delhi Throne. It is of whitish stone with coloured stone mosaic, about one inch high and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad, and hexagonal in form. The mosaic is inlaid in the centre of the top surface and of course this is the original pattern.

This piece was brought to England by my father, the late Major-General John Clarke, 25th Bengal Native Infantry, after the Indian Mutiny.

Should Government wish to have it to restore to the Delhi Throne, we should be willing to part with it for a fair price. If Your Excellency thinks it desirable, will you very kindly

put us in communication with the proper authorities in London, and we can then show them the piece of mosaic stone work, and ascertain if they wish to have it for the purpose of sending it back to Delhi as part of the Throne.

I shall be greatly obliged if Your Excellency will send an early reply as I am leaving home shortly.

19. Letter from Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 24th July 1905.

Referring to a previous letter in which I sent you a letter from Miss Clarke respecting some mosaics she possesses from the footstool of the Delhi Throne, I should apologise for troubling you in the first instance with her letter, but as I have done so I must likewise send this one which, I imagine, requires no answer from either you or me. I have merely acknowledged receipt.

Enclosure of No. 19:

Letter from Miss Henrietta G. Clarke, to Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 21st July 1905.

Thank you for your kind note saying that you have sent my letter about the Delhi Throne mosaic work to Lord Curzon. My father, the late Major-General John Clarke, was not present at the siege of Delhi, and he did not take the piece of the footstool, but he bought it later on from a native. We have some other interesting Indian things, amongst them an oriental basin, enamel work, which belonged to the King of Delhi; and my father brought home a remarkable book, a History of the Emperor Akbar-namah, in Persian manuscript, with numerous illustrations, Mogul work, tempera paintings. The script is by Abu'l Fazl, Historian, Minister and Poet, date 1597. There are *about* 157 sheets of manuscript and 117 picture pages. The covers are wooden, Sind lacquer-work, of a later date. It is thought General Clarke purchased this book in Oudh, we believe at Lahore; and he kept it here till his death in 1895. His widow, my mother, the late Mrs. Clarke, thought as she was in need of money that she had better sell it. The authorities at South Kensington, Victoria and Albert Museum, purchased it for £100. We have lately discovered that this book is unique and is worth thousands. Lord Curzon has been informed that it is at South Kensington, and he wishes to obtain it for the Museum at Calcutta. We have sent a petition to the authorities at South Kensington to see if they can consider the question of giving us a fair price *now*; as when they purchased the book, neither they nor we knew its real value. I fear we may not succeed in obtaining justice in London, and wonder if we could approach Lord Curzon on the subject, through Your Excellency's kind influence. We also possess the marble bathing stones of the King of Oudh; they are square marble slabs, set on carved feet. We may find it necessary to try and sell these treasures; I trust Your Excellency will not think I am presuming on your kind interest if I ask if you would advise us to send them to Christie's,

or to whom we should apply—doubtless Your Excellency is a connoisseur in matters of art, and will pardon my trespassing on your time by this long letter.

20. Letter from Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 29th July 1905.

I send a copy of the agreement with the mosaic man, A. Menegatti, who leaves August 18th from Genoa.

Some of the black marble which he requires comes from Belgium. This may not be ready before he starts and will be sent straight to Bombay.

It might be well that Menegatti should be directed at Bombay where to go to in Delhi.

The Italian Consul at Bombay could be communicated with.

It appears the things necessary, marbles, etc., etc., will cost about £30. The Acting Consul-General at Florence gives him the balance of the £100 after deducting the passage to Bombay and £2 which he pays for lawyer's expenses for the contract.

It appears that Menegatti does not take a wife with him, consequently there is only a single ticket.

Enclosure of No. 20:

Agreement with Italian artificer.

Firenze questo di Luglio Millenovecento-cinque.

Per il presente atto :

fra S. E. Sir Edwin H. Egerton Ambasciatore Britannico in Roma, che agisce nella rappresentanza di S. E. Lord Curzon Vice Re delle Indie, dall' una parte

e Menegatti Alberto fu Leopoldo Mosaicista di Firenze, dall' altra parte

Premesso che S. E. Lord Curzon mosso dal desiderio di restaurare i famosi intarsi di mosaico in *pietra dura*, opera di artefici fiorentini del 17° Secolo, che formano l'alcova ove

Florence this 29th day of July one thousand nine hundred and five.

By this present deed between :

H. E. Edwin H. Egerton British Ambassador at Rome, who acts as representative of H. E. Lord Curzon Viceroy of India of the first part

and Menegatti Albert of the deceased Leopold Mosaic Artist in Florence, of the second part.

Whereas H. E. Lord Curzon desirous of restoring the famous Mosaics in *pietra dura* work of florentine artists of the 17th century, which forms the Alcove where the

sedevano in trono nel loro palazzo di Delhi gli Imperatori Mongoli dell' India, fece ricerca di un Mosaicista fiorentino abile in detta arte del mosaico in pietra dura il quale si impegnasse, dietro conveniente remunerazione a recarsi a Delhi ed ivi procedere a detto restauro risiedendovi tutto il tempo necessario previsto in due anni.

Che avendo incaricato delle pratiche opportune S. E. Sir E. H. Egerton, Ambasciatore Britanico in Roma e quest'ultimo essendo stato messo in rapporto col Sigr. Alberto Menegatti Mosaicista di Firenze, il quale si offerse di assumere il detto incarico, ed essendo le dette parti andate d'accordo e volendo che di tale loro accordo constasse per atto scritto:

Perciò per il presente atto apparisca e sia noto quant' appresso:

Il Sigr. Alberto Menegatti consente di locare l'opera propria a S. E. Lord Curzon, pel quale dichiara di accettarla S. E. Sir E. H. Egerton all' oggetto di eseguire i restauri all' Alcova del Trono degli Imperatori Mongoli dell' India in Delhi, dichiarando di possedere la capacità e l'abilità necessarie

La detta locazione d'opera viene fatta ed accettata alle seguenti condizioni:

1°. Il presente impegno avrà la durata di due anni a contare dall' arrivo del Sigr. Menegatti a Delhi

2°. Egli riceverà come compenso per tutto detto periodo la somma di Lst Cinquecento (500 Lst) pagabili in rate mensili anticipate a cominciare dal giorno del suo arrivo in Delhi, e sarà provisto gratuitamente di conveniente alloggio in detta Città.

3°. Inoltre gli saranno pagate anticipatamente le spese di viaggio in 2° Classe da Firenze a Delhi e gli verrà corrisposta una conveniente indennità di viaggio in Lst 21, Ventuno Lire Sterline. Al termine dei due anni e quando egli abbia fedelmente adempiuto agli obblighi assunti gli sarà pagato il viaggio

Moguls Emperors used to sit in throne in their palace at Delhi, in India, has sought for a skilful florentine mosaic artist in *pietra dura* who would undertake on a suitable remuneration to go to Delhi and there proceed to execute said restoration. residing there for all the time necessary, foreseen for two years.

Whereas Sir E. H. Egerton British Ambassador in Rome having on behalf of H. E. Lord Curzon taken the proper steps and having placed himself in correspondence with Sigr. Alberto Menegatti Mosaic Artist in Florence, who offered to assume said charge and whereas said parties having come to an understanding and wishing the terms thereof to be placed in writing:

Therefore by this present deed be it known that:

Sigr. Alberto Menegatti consents to engage his work to H. E. Lord Curzon for whom H. E. Sir E. H. Egerton accepts it for the object of executing the restorations to the Alcove of the throne of the Moguls Emperors in Delhi, declaring that he possesses the required capacity and skilfulness for the purpose.

The said agreement has been made on the following conditions:

1st. The present engagement will last two years from the day of arrival of Sigr. Menegatti at Delhi

2nd. He will receive as compensation for his services for the above said period of time the sum of £500 to be paid in advance in monthly instalments beginning on the day of his arrival at Delhi, and will be gratuitously and properly lodged in said City.

3rd. He will be moreover paid in advance for the expense of travelling, 2nd class, from Florence to Delhi, and will receive a proper indemnity for the time occupied on his journey in twenty-one pounds. At the end of the two years and when he shall have faithfully fulfilled his engagement there

di ritorno come sopra da Delhi a Firenze con una conveniente indennità di viaggio.

4°. Il Sigr. Menegatti si impegna di partire per Delhi col Vapore della Società di Navigazione Italiana che parte da Genova circa il 17 o 18 Agosto prossimo venturo.

5°. Egli dovrà provvedere un doppio assortimento di tutti gli utensili che sono necessari pel lavoro suddetto e degli oggetti di ricambio che gli potessero occorrere per detti arnesi.

6°. Egli dovrà provvedere e portar seco almeno sei (6) Blocchi di marmo nero di qualità finissima in uso per i fondi dei mosaici, due (2) dei quali di due piedi quadri, alti un piede (1) e quattro (4) blocchi di un piede (1) quadro alti un piede (1) (il piede considerato equivalente a Metri 0,31)

7°. Il Sigr. Menegatti al quale sono stati esibiti i disegni colorati A. B. C. D. di cui nella Nota del di 30 Aprile 1905 del Sigr. J. H. Marshall Direttore Generale di Archeologia in India, e il campionario di pietre indiane di cui in detta Nota, disegni e campioni che egli dichiara aver ben esaminati, dovrà provvedersi di una scorta di pietre dure in uso nell' arte del mosaico in Firenze che ritenga non potersi trovare in India e tali che a senso suo siano le più adattate per qualità, varietà, colore e sfumature di colori, alla buona e artistica esecuzione dei restauri e che possano servire (tenuto conto delle qualità di pietre che si trovano in India) per dodici (12) riquadri o pannelli delle dimensioni del disegno A, e per cento (100) delle dimensioni del disegno B.

8°. Saranno dati al Sigr. Menegatti operai assistenti Indiani perchè possa valersene come assistenti per la preparazione taglio e pulitura delle pietre e per aiuto materiale in genere.

shall be paid to him the return voyage as above from Delhi to Florence with a proper indemnity as above.

4th. Sigr. Menegatti engages to start for Delhi with the steamer of the Italian Navigation Company which leaves Genoa about the 17th or 18th August next.

5th. He will be required to provide a double set of all tools the which are necessary for said work and suitable materials for said tools.

6th. He will be required to provide and take with him at least six Blocks of black marble of the finest quality in use for the back ground of mosaics two of the which shall be two (2) feet square by one (1) foot and the other four (4) one (1) foot square by one (1) foot (the foot equivalent to Meters 0'31)

7th. Sigr. Menegatti to whom have been shown the coloured drawings marked A. B. C. D. mentioned in the note dated 30th April 1905 by J. H. Marshall Esq. Director General of Archaeology in India and the specimens of India stones mentioned in said Note, which drawings and specimens he declared to have carefully examined, will be required to provide a selection of such stones used in the art of Mosaic in Florence which he may judge not to be found in India and which in his estimation will be most suited for quality, variety, colour and shades of colours for a good and artistic execution of the said restorations and which may serve (holding in view the qualities of stones to be found in India) for twelve (12) panels of the size of the drawing A, and for one hundred (100) of the size of the drawing B.

8th. There will be given to Sigr. Menegatti Indian assistant workmen so he may employ them for the preparation, cutting and polishing of the stones and for general assistance.

9°. All' oggetto di provvedere alle spese per acquisto di detti utensili, materiali e pietre e per le sue spese di viaggio oltre Bombay S. E. Sir E. H. Egerton ha anticipato al Sigr. Menegatti la somma di Lst *Quarantacinque* della quale il medesimo rilascia ricevuta, obbligandosi a renderne conto al suo arrivo a Delhi e inoltre i Biglietti di 2° Classe per il viaggio da Firenze a Genova e da Genova a Bombay.

10°. In caso di verificata imperizia o di negligenza o in genere di inadempimento agli obblighi assunti col presente contratto il Sigr. Menegatti potrà esser licenziato con preavviso di un mese, ed in tal caso non avrà diritto ne a ulteriore compenso mensile né al rimborso delle spese del viaggio di ritorno.

Fatto e firmato in Firenze, Italia, il giorno ed anno che sopra in presenza di

EDWIN H. EGERTON.

ALBERTO MENEGATTI.

Before me.

(Sd.) [Illegible],

Actg. Consul-General, Florence.

9th. To the object of providing for the costs of said tools, materials and stones and for his own travelling expenses beyond Bombay, H. E. Sir E. H. Egerton has advanced to Sigr. Menegatti the sum of *Forty-five* pounds, for which the same gives hereby his receipt obliging himself to account for it on his arrival at Delhi, and has also given him tickets 2nd Class from Florence to Genoa and Genoa to Bombay.

10th. In case of demonstrated unskilfulness or negligence or otherwise failing to fulfil the conditions undertaken by this present contract Sigr. Menegatti may be dismissed at a month's notice and in such case no further monthly instalment or return voyage shall be allowed him.

Executed and signed at Florence, Italy, this day and year above said.

EDWIN H. EGERTON.

ALBERTO MENEGATTI.

21. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 7th August 1905.

I am desired by His Excellency the Viceroy to send you the accompanying copy of a letter* from Sir Edwin Egerton about the *mosaicista*, and to ask you to take the requisite action upon it.

* Dated 18th July 1905.

I also send a copy of the letter from Miss Clarke regarding a portion of the footstool of the Delhi Throne to which Sir Edwin Egerton alludes in his letter. The Viceroy would like to have your opinion on this. If you think it desirable, some one might be asked to look at the inlaid stone in England.

22. Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 8th August 1905.

I will take what action is necessary on Sir Edwin Egerton's letter of July 18th, and will arrange for some one to meet Menegatti at Bombay. I have already arranged about his accommodation at Delhi, and have secured six assistants to work under him.

As regards the fragment of the throne in the possession of Miss Clarke at Sydenham, I do not think it is worth while troubling about so small a piece (1 inch high and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches broad !), but I will write and ask her for a sketch of it, as it is just possible that it might turn out useful.

23. Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir E. H. Egerton, dated 10th August 1905.

I am truly most obliged to you for the great trouble that you have taken about the *mosaicista*, and for your particular kindness in assuming personal responsibility for the arrangements in going to Florence yourself, and in interviewing the authorities there, and concluding the final arrangements. We have made all the requisite arrangements here for meeting Menegatti, for accommodating him and wife at Delhi, and for engaging assistants to work under him.

My Director General of Archæology is writing to the Sydenham lady about the alleged fragment of the Mogul throne, but its extreme smallness renders it unlikely that the fragment can be of much value.

24. Letter from Dr. G. Gorio, Consul for Italy at Bombay, dated 14th August 1905.

I have the honour to communicate that the British Ambassador at Rome has written to me saying that the Florentine mosaic artist, Albert Menegatti, engaged by him at His Excellency's request, will arrive in Bombay about the 5th of September next by the Italian steamer *R. Rubattino*.

If His Excellency the Viceroy has not made the necessary arrangements about his journey to Delhi, I shall be very glad to put myself at His Excellency's disposal for sending the artist to the destination.

25. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Dr. G. Gorio, dated 16th August 1905.*

I am desired to thank you for your kind offer to give your aid in arranging to send the mosaic artist, Albert Menegatti, from Bombay to his destination. Mr. Marshall, the Director General of Archæology, is looking after the matter, and I have sent your letter to him, suggesting that he should place himself in communication with you.

26. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 26th August 1905.*

I send in print a letter from Sir Edwin Egerton* with Menegatti's agreement in print appended to it—also the agreement in original for record in your office.

* Dated 29th July 1905.

27. *Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 13th September 1905.*

His Excellency may like to know that the Florentine *mosaicista* left Bombay for Delhi on the 6th September. All arrangements have been made for him to start work at once, and Mr. Nicholls has been to Delhi to see him.

28. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 21st September 1905.*

With reference to my letter of the 18th July, I enclose a cheque† for Rs. 5,000 representing His Excellency's contribution

† $\frac{\text{A. } 13135}{\text{No. } 166}$ for Rs. 5,000.

towards the expenses incurred in connection

with the restoration of the Delhi throne.

29. Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 27th September 1905.

Please forgive me for not acknowledging the cheque for Rs. 5,000—I sent down the letter to my office for some enquiries to be made about the manner of payment from the Punjab Government, and overlooked sending an acknowledgement to you at the moment. I hope I have caused you no inconvenience.

DHAR.

Note by Viceroy, dated 4th November 1902, on restoration of Ancient Buildings at Dhar.

I visited the principal buildings of this singularly interesting and comparatively unspoiled place on November 2nd and 3rd, 1902. I hope that the Director General of Archaeology may be able to pay an early visit to Dhar and Mandu, and record these brief notes to direct his attention to the most important fabrics or monuments that will demand his notice.

The Fort.—This old building, attributed to one of the Tughluk Sultans from Delhi, should certainly be scheduled as an Ancient Monument, meritng preservation. Its interior is now almost empty (but for the jail), and little is required beyond the maintenance of the outer walls and bastions. One of the latter is cracking badly in several places, and, unless clamped or shored up, will, before long, fall outwards into the ditch. This should be averted in time. The battlements, which were originally tongue or flame shaped after the familiar Muhammadan fashion, no longer exist on the greater part of the curtain. But at certain parts of the wall they have at some time been replaced by square-topped crenellations. These are incorrect, but possess a historical interest.

Lat Musjid.—This old and singularly picturesque building (A. D. 1405) erected out of the materials, and, as appears to me likely, on the site, of an earlier Jain temple, is in a very fair state of preservation, the paved quadrangle and the surrounding arcade and prayer-chamber at the western end being undisfigured by later buildings or whitewash. Not much in the way of internal restoration appears to be required, though it would be desirable to see if any of the architraves are cracking or the pillars giving way. The *takhts* or platforms at either end of the prayer-chamber ascended by staircases in the outer wall, and presumably intended for the use of the ruler and his family during religious services, are very interesting and closely resemble, on a smaller scale, the great carved *takht* in the Adina Mosque at Pandua in Bengal.

I ordered some roots of trees and creepers to be cut out of the walls of the quadrangle and some martin's nests to be cleared away from the ceilings. On the top of the cupolas over the main entrance and over the *mihrab*, Major Kincaid, an earlier Political Agent, had caused to be erected some modern vases. I directed the removal of these atrocities. The domed buildings of the same epoch at Mandu show that the cupolas were probably surmounted by a finial or pinnacle,

shaped so as to resemble three cups or bowls one above the other—those at Mandu terminating in a crescent. The exterior porches of the Lat Musjid will, I think, deserve some restoration. They are very much decayed ; and the broad projecting eaves are in a broken and dilapidated condition. The architectural features of these porches are among the most interesting of the sights at Dhar : and the inlaid slabs on the exterior of a black stone, probably of a basaltic character that is said to come from Nimkhera, are capable of repair or restoration.

The whole building stands upon an elevated platform, the exterior walls of which are of solid masonry. It might be desirable to clear the walls all the way round to their base.

The Lat or Iron Pillar, from which the mosque takes its name, is lying outside the entrance to the mosque, with its upper or broken end buried for 2 or 3 feet in the ground, where it fell when overthrown by Sultan Bahadur of Gujerat, and its lower end or base tilted up in the air and resting on the edge of the stone platform where the entire pillar once stood. This is the piece of the column that Jahangir ordered to be carried to Agra, but that was found too heavy to be moved. It is rectangular in shape and 24 feet long. The upper segment, which is 12 feet long and octagonal at the upper end, is now lying in the garden of the High School (where there is a sort of local museum) and where a small wooden model has been constructed of the entire pillar as it is presumed to have originally been.

The base of the socket in which the pillar stood is clearly visible in the centre of the great rocks or boulders still lying on the platform which once supplied its base. When the pillar was upset, these stones were split asunder. On their external faces are visible grooves or slots cut in the stone which it seemed to me might possibly have once contained iron or wooden stays or brackets intended to support and give strength to the pillar at its base.

Fergusson (Indian Architecture, p. 541) seems to have visited the Lat Musjid, and to have seen this pillar : and yet his description is inconsistent with any intelligent appreciation of the facts. For, ignoring the unmistakable site and base of the column in immediate juxtaposition to where it lies, he argues that it was probably used for some constructive purpose, and that the holes in it support this view of its origin. The facts that I have stated show that the structural hypothesis is untenable, while the holes, which are distributed throughout the length of the pillar, were probably intended to support pegs upon which the servants of the shrine climbed up in order to light the lamp at the top. Either then the pillar was a *deepdan* of the form familiar among the Jains (though more often found in Southern India), which not uncommonly changed from a square base to an octagonal top, or it may have been a pillar of victory as at the Qutub. All the indications seem to favour the former suggestion.

The site of the pillar is not exactly opposite the northern gateway of the mosque. I attribute this to the different orientation of the latter, which appeared

to be due east and west. If the column stood as a *deepdan* or lamp-pillar, outside the old Hindu temple, it is probable that it exactly faced the entrance to the shrine, but that the angle of the building may have been slightly shifted when it was converted into a mosque.

I doubt whether it would be worth while to re-erect the pillar even if the mechanical contrivances were available on the spot to do so. Indeed its fall and present position in themselves constitute a historical relic of no mean interest. For not merely do they recall the vandalism of the Gujerat Sultan, but it was the pillar, as it thus lay fractured, that Jahangir vainly ordered to be removed, and that Akbar, as he passed this way in A. D. 1591, ordered to be inscribed (the inscription is still visible) with the record of his visit and his name. If the pillar were re-erected, this inscription would be too high in the air to be seen.

Kamal Maula (sometimes erroneously called the *Jumma Musjid*).—This is a collection of Muhammadan tombs surrounding the entrance to a mosque of a similar character to the Lat Musjid. A number of interesting inscriptions have already been dug up from the graveyard, and I doubt not that careful investigation would bring several more to light. I had not time to do more than cursorily inspect these tombs and their surroundings.

The mosque itself appears from local traditions and from the numerous indications and inscriptions found within it to have been built on the site, and to a large extent out of the materials of a Hindu School, known to the inhabitants as Raja Bhoja's School, the Raja in question having been about contemporary with the Norman Conquest. This inference is derived from the existence of a Sanskrit alphabet and of some Sanskrit and grammatical forms inscribed in diagrams representing the bodies of serpents on the bases of two of the Jain pillars in the prayer-chamber; and also from the Sanskrit inscriptions on the black stone slabs embedded in the floor of the prayer-chamber and on the reverse face of the side walls of the *mihrab*.

The latter constitutes indeed a most interesting discovery. Some holes at the angle of junction of the side and back walls of the *mihrab*, large enough to admit a hand and arm, caused the revelation that there is a roughness on the inner surface of the side walls (behind which there is a hollow space), and that this roughness is due to the inscription on the inner and concealed surface of the black stone of Sanskrit inscriptions not dissimilar to those upon the slabs that have been used for the pavement of the prayer-chamber. Impressions of these inscriptions have been taken by an ingenious system of paper rolled round rods or sticks which are inserted through the aperture into the space behind the wall, and then unrolled and pressed over the surface of the slabs. They appear to be parts of a historical drama written in the time of one of the early Hindu Kings.

The existence of these inscriptions on one face of the black slabs in the *mihrab* and the presence of so many more similar though almost illegible inscriptions on the black slabs in the pavement, suggests that there must have been a large

number of these inscribed tablets in Raja Bhoja's School : and that it would be worth while, where any such slab is found with a smooth surface, to expose its reverse side, in order to see if it bears an inscription.

In the centre of the court of the mosque is an empty tank in the middle of a broken down platform. The prayer-chamber is a forest of Jain pillars ; some of them well carved, some apparently unfinished. There are no *takhts* in this mosque. But there is a small enclosure or pew immediately adjoining the *mimbar*. The roof has in some places been supported by columns that were apparently collected by Major Kincaid and introduced here and there (breaking the aisles) in order to prevent the ceiling from falling in. These are ugly, and spoil the symmetry of the ground plan. They should, if possible, be removed ; but this may be found too great a risk.

Both in this and in the Lat Musjid are some pretty pierced stone windows in the north and south walls of the prayer-chamber. In some cases these have perished, and are capable of restoration.

GWALIOR.

1. Letter (*Extract*) from H. Beveridge, Esq., London, on preservation of the tomb of Abul Fazl.

I also venture to suggest that the tomb of Abul Fazl which lies in a neglected condition in the village of Antri in the Gwalior State should be repaired. I believe that the matter has been already brought to the Maharaja of Gwalior's notice more than once but that nothing has yet been done.

2. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Lieutenant-Colonel C. Herbert, Resident, Gwalior, dated 3rd May 1901.

Do you know the tomb of Abul Fazl, which is in the village of Antri in the Gwalior State ? The Viceroy has heard that the tomb is in very bad condition, and he believes that if this were mentioned to the Maharaja, steps would be taken to put it into order.

3. Letter (*Extract*) from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to H. Beveridge, Esq., dated 3rd May 1901.

I am desired to thank you for your letter (undated), enclosing a copy of your notes on Persian Manuscripts. I have written to the authorities regarding the * * * tombs of Abul Fazl, and I hope that early steps will be taken to preserve the resting places of those illustrious men.

4. Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel C. Herbert, dated 15th May 1901.

Your demi-official of 3rd instant. Yesterday evening I mentioned the subject of Abul Fazl's tomb to Scindia who made a note of His Excellency's wishes.

5. Letter from Lieutenant-Colonel C. Herbert, dated 11th April 1902.

Mr. Lawrence in May last wrote about Abul Fazl's tomb at Antri. The Maharaja Scindia has since had it repaired and has sent me five copies of a photograph of the tomb to forward to you for submission to His Excellency the Viceroy.

I send them under separate cover.

Please address any reply you may send to Major C. H. Pritchard to whom I hand over charge in a day or two.

6. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Major C. H. Pritchard, Resident, Gwalior, dated 14th April 1902.

His Excellency the Viceroy has looked with much interest at the photographs of Abul Fazl's tomb at Antri, which have been forwarded to him by Colonel Herbert. He is very pleased to know the excellent condition to which the Maharaja has brought the tomb.

JAUNPUR.

1. Note by Viceroy, dated 11th January 1903, on restoration of Ancient Buildings at Jaunpur.

(Vide Sir A. Cunningham—"Report on Tour in the Gangetic Provinces"—Archæological Survey of India, Volume XI, 1880. Führer & Smith—"The Sharqi Architecture of Jaunpur"—Archæological Survey of India, New Series, Volume I, 1889.)

I visited to-day and made a careful inspection of the principal Muhammadan buildings of Jaunpur, which have a character, dignity, and beauty of their own, and represent a variety of Pathan Architecture in Northern India, differing materially from the samples that I have elsewhere seen.

It is unnecessary to say anything about the main features and style of the buildings, since they are fully described, with illustrations, in the works already cited, as also in Fergusson. It is only necessary to refer to the points that struck me as requiring examination or decision, in connection with the preservation or restoration of the principal structures.

I found that these operations are entirely in the hands of a worthy gentleman named Moulvi Abdul Mejid, a barrister of Allahabad, who met me at Jaunpur. He and his father and grandfather before him have dispensed an endowment, yielding, I was told, about Rs. 6,000 a year, which was bequeathed by the original legator for religious purposes at Jaunpur. A portion of the annual income is devoted to the maintenance of Koran schools in the various mosques. The remainder has been spent by the beneficiary for the time being in repairing or restoring the fabrics of these buildings ; and their present condition is almost entirely the result of an expenditure on the part of this family, which, if it has not always been well directed, has been both honest and well-meaning.

I gathered, however, to my surprise, that Mr. Abdul Mejid is not bound by any stipulations, either of testament, law, or custom, to consult anybody as to what he does or orders in the Jaunpur mosques ; and that the whole of the restorations during the past 20 years have been carried out without reference to any Committee or authority, and at the exclusive discretion of the members of the Moulvi's family.

The unfortunate results of so haphazard a system are visible in the incorrect and inartistic character of many of the restorations. It was not necessary, however, for me to refer to these in order to persuade Mr. Abdul Mejid that the

system was in itself indefensible, and that his scholarly and patriotic instincts would be all the better for a little trained advice and guidance. I suggested both to him and to Mr. Pert, the Collector, that a Committee should be constituted, of which Mr. Abdul Mejid, the Collector, and the District Engineer should be *ex-officio* members, and on which the leading Sunni Muhammadans of Jaunpur should be invited to sit. All future works or restorations should be submitted, in the first place, to this Committee, and, if of any importance, should be referred through the Local Government to the Director General of Archaeology, their execution not being undertaken until the consent of these authorities had been procured. Mr. Abdul Mejid readily agreed to this proposal, and I instructed Mr. Pert to submit a scheme through the Local Government to the Government of India.

Adjoining the Jumma Musjid (which is a Sunni place of worship) is the *khanqah* or burial ground of the Sharqi Kings. This appears to be in Shiah hands, the custodian representing himself as a descendant of Ibrahim Shah, who is the principal monarch buried there. Though one passes by a gateway from one enclosure into the other, the antagonism between the two parties seems to be acute, and the Shiah guardian of the cemetery appears to claim for himself a license as uncontrolled as that which is enjoyed by Mr. Abdul Mejid in the adjoining mosque. He had recently carried this assertion of independence so far as to pull down an arcade on the west side of the burial ground in order to sell the stones surreptitiously to the workmen who were engaged in carrying out the Moulvi's restorations in the adjoining quadrangle. This transaction, though clearly established, was denied by both parties. It was sufficient to show that the Shiah is no more to be trusted to deal with the graveyard than the Sunni with the mosque, and it led me to propose a similar procedure to Mr. Pert, a Shiah Committee being substituted in this case for a Sunni Committee in the other.

Jumma Musjid.—The uncontrolled restorations already undertaken, or now being carried out, by Mr. Abdul Mejid, have practically destroyed all interest or character in the first or eastern half of the quadrangle of the mosque (the eastern being the main gate—entirely in ruins). For all round this part of the court the Moulvi is busily engaged in replacing the double arcade that originally existed, but had fallen into ruin, by a continuous line of brick buildings, intended as quarters for the students who are being educated in the mosque. I am afraid that it is too late to arrest this act of vandalism; and it remains to confine it to that half of the quadrangle to which it is at present limited, and to conserve the upper or interior half which is in a greatly superior state of preservation, and where no such atrocities should, on any account, be allowed. The north and south gateways exist in a fair state of preservation, and between them and the *musjid* the court is decently paved—one of the works of the Moulvi's predecessors.

One thing puzzled me about the Jumma Musjid. On either side of the central domed space of the prayer-chamber, the roof rises into a splendid Gothic vault,

unique, so far as I know, in India (though I have dim recollections of something rather similar in the great temple of Govind Deo at Brindabun). The roofs of these vaults rise high above the façade of the mosque and present a most curious appearance. As far as I could see, the curve of the outer roof corresponded with that of the inner vault : but I could not feel sure that the external appearance and finish (for they have been restored) are identical with the structure as originally raised.

In the prayer-chamber I ordered the removal of a number of paper rosettes that had been hung by the students on the walls, and also of a horrible clock that regulates their studies. I should like to see the *mihrab* cleaned of whitewash ; but told the local people to do nothing until Mr. Marshall had been and advised.

All round the building, outside as well as inside, are lying a number of sculptured Hindu stones and fragments, many of them highly decorated and in a fair state of preservation. I ordered all these to be collected and neatly disposed in one of the arcades or buildings of the mosque.

In this, as in the other Jaunpur mosques, if restoration is to be proceeded with on at all an elaborate scale, one of the first objects to be undertaken should be the repair of the pierced stone lattices or screens that shut off the interior zenana chapels from the prayer-chamber.

Atala Musjid.—In this building the points that I noticed for early treatment were the following :—

- (1) Removal of whitewash from central arch of *musjid*.
- (2) Removal of whitewash from prayer-chamber.
- (3) Removal of vulgar pictures and clock from prayer-chamber.
- (4) Provision of new piece of prayer carpet in front of *mihrab* (I made suggestions about this).
- (5) Restoration of pierced screens of zenana chapels.
- (6) Removal of finial of a cupola erected as sort of pillar in the quadrangle.

Here, again, I was much puzzled. Why should the propylon or façade of the prayer-chamber terminate at the summit in two corner towers ? This design is not found in any other of the Jaunpur propylons, which all have an unbroken horizontal summit : and it seemed to me to be an incorrect analogy from Egyptian precedent rather than a true feature of a Mussulman design. So far as I can ascertain from Cunningham's picture of the propylon before restoration, there is nothing to justify these towers, since the ruined façade stopped short of them. I think that the question deserves closer examination than I was able to give to it.

Lall Darwaza Mosque.—I am afraid that this building has gone too far to admit of serious restoration. It is, however, a very picturesque and interesting place, and decay ought certainly to be prevented from making any further inroads. The place might further be cleaned up and nicely kept.

The Fort.—I do not think that any restoration can prudently be undertaken here. The British mutilated and destroyed it so irretrievably after the Mutiny that it is better left a ruin. The mosque inside the Fort, though the oldest building in the place, is not remarkable.

The Bridge.—The famous stone bridge over the Gumti is a very unique and striking fabric. I did not much care for the coloured frieze round the tops of the shop-pavilions, which I suppose to have been painted in imitation of *Kashi* work when they were rebuilt ; and still less for the garish reproduction of the same colours and patterns on the still newer pavilions on the further extension of the bridge. But these vagaries of local taste it is almost impossible to control.

The stone *lion* beyond the bridge has a sham modern tail which does not at all correspond with the curved or bushy end of the old tail, the traces of which remain. It also has a modern mask or face of the most grotesque description. I instructed Mr. Oertel, the District Engineer, to submit designs to me for a more correct restoration both of the forepart of the face and of the tail. The lion is now on the ground. No doubt it once stood on a roof or elevation, but what this was it is impossible to say. Mr. Oertel seemed to think that the restored trunk of the little stone elephant between the forepaws of the lion was also wrong, and that the trunk ought to be raised in gesture of salutation. I can give no opinion as to this.

Before leaving the subject of Jaunpur, and in connection with the suggestion of local museums, I would mention to Mr. Marshall that I believe the Lucknow museum to contain a good many Jaunpur inscriptions and fragments, probably quite unnoticed in their present surroundings.

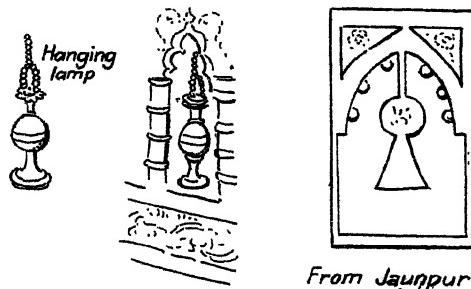
Mr. Oertel informed me that he had already collected a number of the sculptured fragments with which the entire neighbourhood abounds in a small shed near the pillar of Skanda Gupta on the road between Benares and Ghazipur (the old route of Hwen Thsang).

2. *Letter from F. O. Oertel, Esq., Executive Engineer, Benares, dated 21st January 1903, on restoration of the stone lion at Jaunpur.*

I am sending herewith for His Excellency the Viceroy's approval the drawing of the stone lion at Jaunpur with proposals for the restoration of the tail and head. I have been searching through all the archaeological publications and throughout the temples of Benares for a specimen of the lions of that period, but was not successful. The only thing I could find was a sketch of my own made years ago at Khajarao in Bundelkhand which I enclose and on which I have based my projected restoration of the face. As far as I can judge from the ornamentation on the two lions they belong to the same period of mediæval

Indian art (Eleventh or Twelfth Century A.D.) and represent tigers rather than lions, although they have manes. The earlier specimens (such as at Sanchi, *vide* enclosed photograph) seem to be more thick set and lion-like in appearance. If His Excellency approves of the general appearance of the restoration, a stone carver might be sent to Khajarao to study the lion there before restoring the one at Jaunpur.

When at Jaunpur His Excellency was enquiring about the meaning of the tassel shaped ornaments, said to represent lamps, found in the niches of the mosques. The photograph of a tomb at Ahmedabad which I took some years ago and the pencil sketch overleaf may perhaps throw some light on this, so I have taken the liberty to enclose them.



From Jaunpur

*From Musulman tomb at Cambay
(see Plate XXIII Gujarat Architecture,
Vol. VI - Arch! Survey of Western India.)*

I am also forwarding some photographs of Chunar for His Excellency's kind acceptance.

3. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to F. O. Oertel, Esq., dated 18th July 1903, on restoration of the stone lion at Jaunpur.

The Viceroy has not forgotten the question of the Jaunpur lion and your proposed restoration of it. He has been in consultation with Mr. Marshall, Director General of Archaeology, and I now return your drawing with an additional tracing of the head by Mr. Marshall showing that the eye should be more globular and protruding. Two other tracings are also enclosed showing the sort of effect to be produced. Please return these.

Your other proposals seem to the Viceroy to be quite correct and can be carried out.

4. *Letter from F. O. Oertel, Esq., dated 21st October 1903, on restoration of the stone lion at Jaunpur.*

I am sorry to have left your letter of the 18th July so long unanswered, but I was on leave in England this summer and did not see it till my return. I have lost no time now in carrying out His Excellency's instructions and have put the restoration of the Jaunpur stone lion in hand. A good stone mason has gone to Khajarao to carve a new face on the spot with instructions to use the lion there as his model. The two tracings belonging to Mr. Marshall are herewith returned. Care will be taken to make the eyes more globular and protruding.

I venture to enclose a copy of a report of mine on some ancient buildings in Ceylon for the Viceroy's kind acceptance, who knows the buildings personally and may be interested in it.

LAHORE.

1. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir W. M. Young, dated 25th Avril 1899, on conservation of Lahore Monuments.

I have not been very well, and am still confined to my bed. You must excuse me therefore if I dictate this letter and send it in print. It refers to the conservation of the Lahore monuments about which I frequently spoke to you while your guest ; and of my views or hopes concerning which I venture to send this reminder, lest they be forgotten. I have, since my arrival here, made such study of the question as is open to me from the books at my disposal, and in some respects they have carried me a little further in the search for knowledge.

(1) *Shahdara*.—My principal desire has been to discover what was the original state of the great platform, and to ascertain whether the Baradari in the Hazuri Bagh did or did not stand upon it above the vaulted chamber in which is the tomb of Jahangir. Major Cole in his First Report of the Curator of Ancient Monuments (1881-82), page xxii, recorded his impression that the Baradari in question has been removed bodily from the platform at Shahdara, and said that if by careful measurements this hypothesis was established, the pavilion ought to be restored to its original site. In his Third Report (1883-84), page cxx, he reiterated this belief, and gave measurements showing that the dimensions of the pavilion correspond almost exactly with those of the central part of the platform at Shahdara. This is a striking coincidence, but it may be nothing more.

To solve my doubt I have turned to other sources. Firstly, as regards Shahdara. Thornton in his *Gazetteer* cites a legend (mentioned also by Cole) that there was above the tomb of Jahangir, and therefore clearly on the platform, a dome, which was removed by Aurungzeb. There is, however, no ancient or contemporaneous confirmation of this legend ; and as M. Latif points out, it is inconsistent with the statement of Mohamed Saleh who wrote in the reign of Shah Jahan, the builder of Shahdara, and said that the latter respected his father's wish to be buried under the vault of heaven.

Next, as regards the Baradari in the Hazuri Bagh, M. Latif, pp. 118, 190, 194 and 108, says that it was erected in 1818 by Ranjit Singh with materials torn from three other Muhammadan buildings in the environs of the city which he names (the tomb of Jahangir not being among them).

Now, if this date (1818) be correct, it is clear that had Ranjit Singh either bodily or in part removed this pavilion from the platform at Shahdara, the fact

would have been a matter of common notoriety, and could hardly have escaped the knowledge of any intelligent person visiting Lahore at or soon after that time. Such an intelligent traveller in the person of W. Moorcroft (afterwards murdered in Afghanistan) did visit Lahore in 1820. He describes the Court of Ranjit Singh and the buildings of Lahore; and when speaking of the tomb of Jahangir, all he does is to repeat the legend of the dome removed by Aurungzeb. He says nothing of a recent spoliation by Ranjit Singh. It seems probable to me therefore that from whatever quarter that vandal obtained the main portion of the pavilion in the Hazuri Bagh (which struck me as being unquestionably for the most part of Mogul origin), he cannot have transported it bodily from Shahdara, its abstraction from which must have been known.

If I am right in this conjecture, Major Cole's suggestion as to the reconstruction of the pavilion upon the platform should not be accepted. In this context, however, I would urge that the accounts said to be in the possession of the old gentleman whom we saw, and which were reported to refer to the construction of the Baradari by Ranjit Singh should be inspected.

Before leaving Shahdara I should like to add that the present low mud covering (with zinc eaves) of the vault of Jahangir's tomb, which projects above the level of the platform, is, in my opinion, a disgrace to the Public Works Department which erected it, and an eyesore to the locality. I should be glad to learn that it was proposed to replace it by some less hideous structure.

(2) *The Fort*.—You will remember that I was particularly horrified at the condition of the Moti Musjid. The Sikhs, and not we, are responsible for having originally converted this exquisite little building into a treasury. But, whereas vandalism was congenital in them, it is, I think, unpardonable in us. Cole in his First Report (pp. xxiv and cxc) seems to have been annoyed at *pipal* trees growing inside it, but he does not seem to have been afflicted, as I was, by the initial desecration of its conversion into a treasury. As I saw it with you, the building had been utterly metamorphosed and degraded by the filling up of the archways with plaster, by the removal of part of the marble flooring and the excavation of a vault below, by the deposit of the treasure chests inside the prayer-chamber, and by the erection of a great brick supporting wall on one side of the mosque. These were the several instances of vandalism which I venture to solicit your support in removing, and I should indeed be glad to learn that you had restored the mosque, I will not say to its original use, but at least to its pristine appearance, and that you had made arrangements for the safe custody of the treasure chests elsewhere. The present arrangement is one that reflects little credit on British respect for archaeology or art.

While referring to the Fort, I should also like to ask to what purposes are now converted the Diwan-i-Am or Hall of Audience, and the smaller Khwabgah. I do not think I was shown either. Cole (Third Report, p. cxxviii) and M. Latif (p. 123) speak of the former as having been turned into a barrack. Cole says

the latter was used in his day as a chapel. Now, according to M. Latif (p. 125) it is used for military purposes, whatever that may mean. I should like to know the facts of the case, and whether iconoclasm has gone so far as to render restoration or restitution in either case impossible.

You may remember that I desired to present a Koran-stand to the mosque of Wazir Khan, and a lamp for the big courtyard of the Badshahi mosque, and that we consulted the head of the School of Art as to possible designs. I shall be glad to learn if any progress has been made in the matter, and to have designs submitted to me for approval.

2. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir W. M. Young, dated 15th January 1900, on conservation of Moti Musjid in Lahore Fort.

And now may I add a word about my old hobby of the Moti Musjid in the Fort, and the few other suggestions that I made when your guest now more than nine months ago ?

Have you been able to initiate the necessary steps ? Wherever I go I am looking very closely into the conservation of ancient monuments, in connection with which I desire to atone for a century of British vandalism and crime. I found a great deal of good work being done in the North-Western Provinces. But, elsewhere, the funds allotted have struck me as small, and the work as capable of much useful expansion. I wonder too if good progress is being made with my lectern and lamp for the two mosques. Rapidity of work does not seem to be an attribute of their excellent designer.

3. Letter (Extract) from Sir W. M. Young, dated 4th February 1900, on Ancient Monuments in Lahore.

Now I come to the long delayed series connected with your visit to Lahore about which I have suffered, I can assure you, grave heart-searchings, and am really very sorry not to have been able to focus a reply. The fact is I ought to have dealt with the various matters in detail, and not all at once ; and I am not quite ready yet with some of them which require communication with the military authorities and inspection of the spot. So I send a preliminary note on the history of the fort buildings, followed by one on the Moti Musjid. After a short time I will write to the Military Department and ask for a reconsideration of the decision conveyed in their No. 1254, dated the 18th August 1886, in hopes that

by that time your wishes will have been communicated, and the bar to the restoration of the Moti Musjid removed. I cannot allot the money for the new treasury under present circumstances, but this can be done when we have any money. So much for the Moti Musjid.

I have got together all the information available in records regarding the Diwan-i-Am, and the Chhoti Khwabgah, but I have not been able yet to visit them in company with the Chief Engineer, who is out on Famine Inspection. I will submit my views about them both later on.

Enclosures of No. 3 :

(1) *Note by Sir W. M. Young.*

Buildings in the Lahore Fort.—The Government of India in Foreign letter No. 1128, dated 13th April 1850, referred to certain correspondence of the Board of Administration in the Political and Military Departments which had taken place in the previous month, and objected to the Brigadier-General or any other officer occupying the Shish Mahal in the fort at Lahore. It was added that the Board would subsequently be apprised of the Governor-General's intentions regarding the palace.

2. The Board of Administration in reply stated that the Brigadier-General had not availed himself of the accommodation in the Shish Mahal placed at his disposal by the Board, and that the palace was consequently unoccupied and would remain so pending His Lordship's orders for its disposal. The Board went on to say that the Major-General Commanding the Division having been instructed by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to apply to the Board for additional accommodation within the citadel for the men of the 1st Bengal Fusiliers, and for the removal of all public officers and civil establishments from within the citadel, with the exception of the Treasury and Tosha Khana, the Board had complied with His Excellency's commands, but had asked for time to remove the large amount of Government property stored in the larger and lesser Khwabgahs, and other buildings immediately adjoining the Shish Mahal.

3. In reply to this letter the Government of India called for a plan of the fort, pointing out the various apartments. This plan was submitted in the Board's No. 265, dated 24th June 1850. It was prepared by Lieutenant Hill, R.E., and probably the plan which I have marked (A) is a copy of it. The Board reported that the buildings on the north side of the citadel were still in the hands of the civil authorities, and suggested that the Shish Mahal, Chhoti Khwabgah, and Moti Munder (*sic*), "which is used as a treasury," be retained. It was explained that the houses, occupied by different Ranis of the household of several Maharajas, were in this portion of the citadel, and that, so long as they resided in the fort, the buildings ought not to be made over to the military authorities. The magazine on the north side of the Bara Khwabgah contained all the arms, etc., collected from the country, and might, the Board thought, eventually be given up to the military, as also the Tosha Khana house on the south side of the fort, which was isolated from the other buildings in civil charge. The Diwan-i-Am had lately been converted by the military into a hospital for the 1st Bengal Fusiliers.

4. In the reply, No. 1199, dated 15th July 1850, the Governor-General requested that matters should be allowed to stand as they were until His Lordship should visit Lahore, which he proposed to do early in the cold weather "when they will be definitely arranged."

5. This closed the correspondence. In January 1852, Mr. John Lawrence, who thought there was a subsequent letter finally disposing of the question, caused enquiry to be made from the Foreign Department, Calcutta, and asked for a copy of any orders issued, but the Officiating Registrar, Foreign Department, replied that there were no papers about the citadel of Lahore subsequent to the letter of 15th July 1850.

6. *The Moti Musjid.*—In January 1885, the Executive Engineer, Lahore, reported that the front wall of the room (*sic*) used for storing coin in the fort was unsafe, and that the wall could not be rendered secure without altering the construction of the entire wall, which consisted of marble pillars and enclosed archways. In calling for an estimate for strengthening the wall, the Government in the Public Works Department said that under no circumstances was the building to be in any way damaged, nor would any proposals be entertained that cut into the marble work. The Punjab Government, after further discussion, came to the conclusion that, although the Moti Musjid could be made secure without damage to the structure, yet that, on account of the architectural beauty of the building, it should be restored to its pristine appearance, and a new Currency Reserve Treasury be built. The military authorities were addressed with a view to another site being provided, and the site which I have marked 2 on plan B was selected by a Military Committee. The Medical Officer attending the Committee stated that with the exception of the fact that all additional brickwork must absorb and retain heat in circumscribed spaces, there were no sanitary objections to the site.

The Committee's recommendations were—

- (1) That the existing building be not abandoned till it shall have been reported insecure beyond remedy by a professional Committee.
- (2) That if a new treasury be indispensable, it be built as shown in blue on the tracing (2 above).
- (3) That the enclosure be not extended beyond certain limits, and that the nature of the wall or fencing of such enclosure be as low and as open as possible.

7. The Government of India in the Military Department were accordingly addressed in the Public Works Department letter of the Punjab Government, No. 119, dated 7th January 1886, and asked to sanction the construction of the new treasury building proposed. It was added that, although the present building could be made secure, the Moti Musjid was a marble building of architectural beauty, and while its use temporarily might at one time have been necessary, His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor could not consider the arrangement one that could be considered as permanent.

8. The Government of India reply was contained in the Military Department letter No. 1254, dated 18th August 1886. In accordance with the opinion of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the Government of India preferred that the building at present used for the treasury should be made secure, and that no new building should be constructed. The enclosure showed that, in view of the crowded state of the interior of Fort Lahore, the erection of a new treasury building was considered objectionable by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

9. Accordingly, Rs. 391 were spent on "strengthening" the wall with a brick support—and the Moti Musjid is still used as a Currency Reserve Treasury.

10. His Excellency the Viceroy now wishes to see this mosque restored to its pristine appearance. The cost of a new treasury will be Rs. 8,500. A site exists, as above shown. This site has again been reported on by a Military Committee assembled under the orders of the Officer Commanding Mian Mir, and is considered by them suitable, provided that the height of the wall forming the boundary of the space on its north-west side is not over-topped by the height of the building. If this site can be made available, then it will not be a difficult matter to vacate the Moti Musjid, so soon as the Province, now impoverished by famine, has Rs. 10,000 to spend upon art. Meanwhile, to avert the failure of the negotiations it might be as well for His Excellency's wishes to be communicated to the Military Department, in order that there may be no difficulty about the site. It is desirable that the Currency reserve chest, which contains sometimes as much as 1½ crores of rupees, should be within the precincts of the fort, and there might be difficulty, and probably greater expense, in constructing a new Currency Reserve Treasury in any other locality.

(2) *Abstract translation of a letter from Fakir Syed Kamruddin, Khan Bahadur, on the Baradari in the Hazuri Bagh.*

I have made careful enquiries regarding the circumstances under which the Baradari in the Hazuri Bagh was built by the late Maharaja Ranjit Singh. As a result of these enquiries, I find that the marble for the edifice in question was torn away from the mausoleums of the Emperor Jahangir, Zebinda Begum *alias* Zebunnisa Begum, Nur Jahan Begum, Asaf Jah, etc.; that the remaining marble required for the completion of the edifice was imported from Jeypore under orders of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh; that the Baradari was erected in Sammat 1874, or 82 years ago; and that the cost excluding the materials torn away from the Mogul buildings mentioned above, amounted to a lakh of rupees. The guardians of the mausoleum of Jahangir state that all the marble there, as well as the mausoleums of Nur Jahan Begum and Asaf Jah, were torn away by the Maharaj Raja Ranjit Singh, and that part of the marble was utilized in erecting the Baradari at the Hazuri Bagh, and the rest was sent to the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

(3) *Note by Syed Mohamed Latif, dated 2nd February 1900, on Jahangir's Tomb and the Baradari of Hazuri Bagh.*

A brief account of these buildings will be found in my History of Lahore, pages 104 and 117. I have now carefully looked into the materials collected for a new edition, and the following supplementary account may be found interesting:—

All the accounts agree in giving the mausoleum of Jahangir a high place in the works of art.

Writers of the East, as well of the West, are sanguine in its praises as an edifice of surpassing elegance, beauty, and grace. One writer extols its magnificence by citing the Persian couplet—

*Agar Firdous bar rúe zamin ast,
Hamin ast-o hamin ast-o hamin ast.
“ If there is a Paradise on the earth’s surface,
(Surely) it is this, it is this, it is this.”*

Allowing full margin for all exaggerations common to Oriental writers, there is no doubt that divested as the edifice now is of most of its costly decorations, it is, as we see it, a monument which to good taste and skill combines excellence of workmanship.

Mr. Eastwick writes of it thus :—

“ Altogether, this mausoleum is one of the finest in the world, and, after the Taj and the Qutub Minaret, is the noblest building in India. It is vast, solemn, and exquisitely beautiful.”

According to the Shah Jahan Nama of Mulla Mohamed Saleh, Lahori (the founder of the small mosque decorated with *Kashi* work inside the Mochi gate of the city of Lahore), who compiled his work during Shah Jahan’s stay at Lahore, the Emperor, while at Lahore, held the anniversaries of the birth of the Prophet and the anniversaries of the death of his father *Jannat-Makani* (as Jahangir was called after death) in this mausoleum.

Great were the preparations made on these occasions.

All the princes of the Royal household, members of the harem, nobles, priests, and religious leaders assembled, and charities in cash and food were profusely given away to the poor. These were known as *Majlis-i-Milad-i-Sharif* (for the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet) and the *Urs Sharif* (for the late Emperor’s death anniversary).

Shah Jahan appointed 500* Hafizes of Koran (or persons who recollect the Koran by heart) to recite, by turn, day and night, the Koran by heart at the tomb of his parent. The whole of the interior was draped with shawls, muslins, cushions, and carpets from Turkey, Persia, and Kashmir, and embellished with embroidered curtains, chandeliers, and glassware, and there were *shamianas* and *kannats* (screens) of Pashmina and other valuable cloths.

In the side rooms lived professors of religion and pious men, who were in receipt of handsome allowances from the State. The whole establishment was maintained on the same grand scale as the Taj at Agra during the time of kings, full accounts of which will be found in my work on Agra, pages 100 to 124.

The old villages of Nangal and Morali were assigned to the keeper of the mausoleum as *jagirs*, while all the lands attached to the neighbouring wells were held by them as perpetual

* Dara Shah, eldest son of Shah Jahan, in his work, the *Safinatul aulia*, writes that in a single mohalla of Lahore known as the *Tilla Mohalla* (no trace of which now exists in Lahore) there lived shortly before his time 30,000 Hafizes of Koran. Judging from this number, the number of Hafizes (500) appointed by Shah Jahan to recite the Koran at the tomb of his father was not large. It is worthy of note how the names of some of the most famous quarters of the city of Lahore in old times have been lost in oblivion. For instance, nobody knows now anything about Khafi Mohalla, where the Saint Mian Mir (after whose name the celebrated Mian Mir Cantonment is called) died, and nobody knows that the old name of the present station of Mian Mir was Hasampura. The names are frequently mentioned in the learned work of Dara Shakoh.

grant, free from all Government demand. These estates lasted up to the last days of Chonghattai rule.

With the decline of the Mogul Empire, however, these privileges were also, by degrees, forfeited by the Government of the time, and on the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah, the hereditary custodians lost much of their importance. But it was not until the times of anarchy following the collapse of the Muhammadan rule, when the power of the Sikh *misl*s or confederacies, reigned supreme, that the movable properties attached to the mausoleum were either seized, wasted, or subjected to destruction, and when the privileges connected with the Khangah were all forfeited. The buildings remained intact and uninjured until the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire.

On the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah, the Duranis mistaking the beautiful stones inlaid in the tomb and the surrounding walls for gems, stole many of them. The edifice did not suffer more during the Muhammadan period. But worse days were in store for it during the period that intervened (? between) the fall of the Mogul Empire and the universal peace and blessings happily enjoyed by the people by the establishment of the British Power.

To commence with Sobha Singh, one of the triple Governors of the city of Lahore, before Ranjit Singh, removed the large slabs of marble and the marble railings of lattice-work which surrounded the open space above the tomb and formed a beautiful superstructure. There is no truth in the story told by some modern writers that the tomb was once covered with a dome.

The best authority for this is the Shah Nama, a paragraph from which has been quoted by me in the History of Lahore, page 107. Jahangir had willed (1st) that he should be buried in the garden of his beloved consort on the Ravi called the Dilkusha, and (2ndly) that his tomb "should be erected in the open air, so that the rain and dew of heaven might fall on it." Sobha Singh, having removed the marble slabs and railings, put a wooden structure over the roof to cover the tomb, and this structure was subsequently renewed by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The latter, however, completed the work of destruction which Sobha Singh had begun. Ranjit Singh tore away from the mausoleum the slender marble pillars (erected for placing lamps and candles) which adorned the parapets round the roof as well as the lattice-work of marble which lined the roof all round, replacing it with masonry work of brick and mortar. The marble fretwork surrounding the galleries of the minarets was also removed under his orders. All these costly materials were sent to Amritsar to decorate the Darbar Sahib or Golden Temple and the Ram Bagh constructed by him there.

The marble fretwork of the uppermost story of the minarets was restored by Mr. John Wedderburn, Deputy Commissioner, Lahore.

The mausoleum was then under the orders of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, occupied by Arjan Singh, son of the famous Hari Singh Nalwa, who caused many of its stones to be removed. The place was subsequently given by the Maharaja to Sirdar Sultan Mohamed Khan, who used it as his residence for several years. The village Shahdara was given to the Sirdar as *jagir*. His barbarous Afghan host spared no pains in injuring the mausoleum. They extracted from the walls numerous valuable stones, broke and stole away other materials, and laid waste the whole garden that surrounded the edifice. They kindled fires in the chambers, which were partially disfigured. Providence, however, had better days in store for this superb edifice as well as for the whole country and its people. The British on assuming power, restored the buildings to a great extent, and as lovers of art have maintained it at enormous cost to the State.

Ranjit Singh can never be freed from the charge of ruthless vandalism which has been justly brought against him. He not only tore away from the tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara its most costly and superb materials to build the Golden Temple at Amritsar, but he pulled down all the costly stones and materials of most of the Khangahs, or monuments, in the suburbs of Lahore to build the temple.

The marble Baradari of Hazuri Bagh was built by materials snatched away from the tomb of Zebinda Begum, the learned daughter of Aurungzeb, in Nawan Kot [the gateway of whose garden commonly known as the Chouburji, still exists on the old mall close to the house once occupied by Sir (Lord) John Lawrence, and subsequently the residence of Mr. Charles Boulnois and Sir M. Plowden] and the tomb of Shah Shuraff outside the Bhati gate of the city.

Of this latter mausoleum nothing now remains but a bare grave on a raised platform close to the English cemetery towards the west.

4. Note by J. H. Marshall, Esq., on Jahangir's Tomb.

Add to Latif's statements (enclosure No. 3 of letter No. 3) which need to be verified :—

(1) Moorcroft, 1820—"The building was surmounted, it is said, by a dome, but it was taken off by Aurungzeb, that his grandfather's tomb might be exposed to the weather, as a mark of his reprobation, etc. Such is the story; but more probably the roof was never completed." (*Volume I, page 109.*)

(2) Baron Von Hügel, 1836—"Small vaulted chamber; the light falls on it from above."

(3) Von Orlich, 1843—"The white marble sarcophagus stands in the centre under a dome, which Shah Bahadur caused to be destroyed in order that the rain and dew might fall on the tomb of his ancestor."

The dome referred to by Von Orlich is the present one, through which a hole has been pierced. I expect Moorcroft's informant referred to the same dome also, but Moorcroft misunderstood him. There can be little doubt that the dome above the tomb was originally complete, and that a hole was made in it later, either for one of the purposes stated above or in order to admit light, as the tomb is exceptionally gloomy.

5. Note by Sir W. M. Young, dated 12th March 1900, on the Diwan-i-Am and the smaller Khwabgah.

The Diwan-i-Am.—The General Hall of Audience, or Diwan-i-Am, is said by Syed Mohamed Latif* to have been constructed by the Emperor Shah Jahan.

* History of Lahore, page 123.

There is an illustration of it at page 120 of his History of Lahore (but the verandah is not now sloping), showing it in its present state. It is used as a hot weather dormitory for the British soldiers. It is unused in the cold weather. Like the Diwan-i-Am in the Delhi Fort, it consists of one large hall (162 feet by 54 feet) with a roof supported by 16 pillars and arches turned both in the length of the building and across it, and a raised chamber in the middle of its length for the throne, with other rooms behind on the same level. The walls, pillars, and arches of the large hall appear to be all of red sandstone (though entirely covered with whitewash). The roof of the hall is clearly modern. The front of the raised throne-chamber is of marble, discoloured by age. There are slabs of marble also in the other rooms behind it. The hall is disfigured by *punkha* arrangements, and one or two of the spaces between the pillars in the corners have been bricked up.

The Diwan-i-Am seems to have been in the possession of the military authorities since annexation. As mentioned above, it was used as a hospital for the 1st Bengal Fusiliers in 1850.

Restitution, except as regards the roof, would not be very costly. Major-General Sir Gerard Morton, Commanding the Lahore District, who was good enough to accompany me, is inclined to think that the building could be given up as a barrack, unless the garrison at the Fort ever has to be increased beyond the single company now quartered there.

The Smaller Khwabgah.—This is still used as a Church, and Syed Mohamed Latif must have been misinformed. It is an exquisite structure of marble with inlaid floor and portions of the walls. The roof is modern, and of course entirely out of character.

Restoration, except of the roof, would not be difficult, though it might be difficult to find another place in which to hold Divine Service.

I certainly consider that the Smaller Khwabgah, as well as the Moti Musjid, should be restored. But whereas the latter is in the hands of the Civil authorities, the former is in the possession of the Military, and other accommodation will not be easy to contrive. As regards the Diwan-i-Am, I am more doubtful.

6. *Letter from Sir W. M. Young, dated 9th September 1900, on the appointment of an Archaeological Surveyor in the Punjab.*

Your Excellency's recollection is quite correct, that when last at Lahore you thought it would be best to await the matured judgment of an expert before altering much in the Lahore Fort. The Punjab has at present no Archaeological Surveyor, but I have recently recommended a man (whose name at this moment

I forget) to the Government of India in the Public Works Department. I think this officer would have the circle comprising Rajputana, but I rather think the North-Western Provinces was in another circle. I will get up the papers and make sure of this latter fact.

7. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir C. M. Rizaz, dated 1st May 1902, on conservation of Ancient Monuments in Lahore.

Our surprise visit to some of the sights at Lahore a few days ago was as much a surprise to us as to anyone else. For some unexplained reason the Railway people brought us in to Lahore station $\frac{3}{4}$ hour before the fixed time; and accordingly we had $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours to spare instead of the regulation 30 minutes for lunch. We utilized it by getting into gharries and visiting the principal sights. A few points struck me about which I should like to ask your help.

In the Wazir Khan Mosque I found the top or seat of the carved pulpit that I presented covered with pigeons' droppings. It had evidently not been cleaned for days. I sent for the Mutawali, but he was not there. Now I did not give this beautiful object to the Mosque in order to allow the custodians to let it pass into the decay which has overcome all its surroundings. I shall be obliged if you will communicate to the Committee my great surprise and annoyance at the condition in which I found the *Mimbar*, and if you will exact from them a promise that it shall be regularly and scrupulously cleaned.

Then we went to the Badshahi Mosque. I found the lamp that I presented to the big courtyard in an equal state of squalor and filth. I do not suppose that it has been cleaned or touched since it has been put up. Please make a similar representation to the Committee there. I also found that in only one of the three lamps was there a dingy kerosine lamp. I sent for the Mutawali, who declared that the Committee declined to provide funds for the provision of lamps (costing only a few annas) for the two remaining vacant spaces. Please convey to them an expression of my extreme vexation at the manner in which they have treated my gift; and, if you can, will you make arrangements for its proper treatment and conservation in the future?

Of course if they had known of my visit, I should have found none of these things; but that is the merit of a surprise incursion.

At the Badshahi Mosque I also found green trees or vegetation growing from the white marble domes over the praying-place. They should be removed at once.

At the entrance to the open space between the Badshahi Mosque and the Fort, I found a huge advertisement of a dentist inscribed on the entrance gateway! Please have this monstrosity removed.

At the Fort they told me that orders had been issued, or were likely to be issued, for the restoration of the Moti Musjid, the Diwan-i-Am, and the present church. It is now three years since first I went to Lahore, and secured a promise from your predecessor that these three scandals should be removed. In the interval not a thing has been done that is evident to the sight, though, as I say, I believe that orders of some sort have issued.

It is this sort of delay that leaves me in despair : for when I have gone, who will care about these things ? I fancy that your German Archæologist has furnished some reports on all these subjects. Would you kindly send them to me ? And I am sure I may invoke your friendly assistance in the matter. With a little push we can get the whole thing done in two years : but I cannot do it unless I have the co-operation of the Lieutenant-Governor.

Then I went to the Railway Mosque. It is worth your while to pay it a visit. The old façade of the Mosque—*kashi* work—now inside the offices, is perfectly beautiful. Its present use or abuse is a crying shame. But if we are to give it back to the Muhammadans, I think we ought to get from them a guarantee that they will find the money for its proper restoration—pulling down of modern railway walls, arches, partitions, etc.,—and that this is done under the supervision of our new Director General of Archæology, Mr. Marshall, whom I shall send down to Lahore in the forthcoming summer. Otherwise I will not give it back. Its present use is indefensible, but at least the tile work is protected : and I am not going to give this over to destruction.

I am confident that in all these matters I may rely upon your help.

8. Note (Extract) by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, dated 5th May 1902, on Report of the Archæological Survey, Punjab Circle, for the period 1st January to 30th June 1901.

I desire to make some remarks on points mentioned in Dr. Vogel's report. These should be shown to Mr. Marshall, who, I hope, will go down to Lahore during the rains to superintend the commencement or continuation of the necessary work.

(1) *The Dai Anga Musjid*—commonly called the Railway Mosque at Lahore. I visited this exquisite building last week. It is just outside the railway station, and is now occupied as the Traffic Superintendent's office. The three arches originally marking the front of the mosque—faced with beautiful *kashi* or enameled tiles—still exist, but are now in the interior of the building. In front of them have been built on some modern office rooms. Behind them the old *mihrabs* can also be traced, but have either been walled up or cut through. Behind these again are European accretions. Arrangements have been made

for providing the Traffic Superintendent with quarters elsewhere, and the North-Western Railway people assured me that the mosque would be vacated in nine months from the present date. I have, however, written to Sir C. Rivaz to say that I will only give back the mosque to the Muhammadan community, provided (1) they will undertake to pull down all the excrescences to which I have referred and restore the mosque, as far as possible, to its pristine state; (2) they will consent to do this under the supervision and advice of Mr. Marshall, otherwise the last state of the mosque may be worse than the present.

(2) I should like the opinion of the Director General upon the tomb of *Anarkali* after he has seen it. The present arrangement is unsatisfactory, and I am not at all clear about Mr. Douie's suggestion. The question is largely one of cost, and I do not know whether the advantages of complete restitution would justify the expense.

(3) *The Moti Musjid* in the Fort at Lahore.—It is good news that the Punjab Government has decided to build a new Treasury. This I ordered three years ago, but so far not one single step has been taken to carry it out. Some care will be required in the restoration of this beautiful little building. There is a hideous brick wall built up against the façade of the prayer-chamber in the interior of the courtyard, which will have to be taken down. The entire building is also surrounded by a brick and mud wall which appears to be all wrong, but the date of which I could not ascertain.

(4) *The Diwan-i-Am* in the Fort at Lahore.—The restoration of this hall must undoubtedly be undertaken. Its present condition and use are a scandal. A careful inspection will have to be made of the pillars at present whitewashed. Presumably, they are of red sandstone, though some one told me they were of marble. Is the present whitewash of British military origin, or does it cover earlier plaster, as at Agra? Can it safely and easily be removed? When restoration of this hall is begun it must be thorough and complete. All the atrocious evidence of military occupation must be removed.

(5) *Chhoti Khwabgah* in the Lahore Fort.—Restoration of this should be proceeded with as soon as possible. The awful roof must be taken off. Great care must be taken in the restoration and reproduction of the pierced marble screens.

(6) *Shish Mahal*, Lahore Fort.—While everybody has been writing to say that the ceiling was insecure, it has settled the matter by falling in, and there is now a huge rent or cavity. Before it is settled how to repair this and what style to adopt, Director General should see and advise.

(9) *Tomb of Jahangir* at Shahdara.—In 1899 I went carefully into the question of the roof or cupola over the tomb, and I will hand to Director General some correspondence that I had on the subject. I showed clearly, and Dr. Vogel (who has perhaps seen my letters to the Lieutenant-Governor) agrees that the *bara-dari* in the Hazuri Bagh was never on the upper terrace. Nevertheless the present wooden structure is an abomination; and something more tasteful ought to be

substituted. This is a point to which Mr. Marshall will have to devote his attention.

I do not know what we are going to do with the lakh that I persuaded the Secretary of State to let us devote per annum to archæological work. Perhaps some part of it might go towards helping the Punjab in some of these most necessary works. I do not hesitate to say that the present condition of the principal monuments at Lahore and in a less degree at Delhi is a public reproach and that what we are doing at Agra we ought equally to attempt in the Punjab.

9. Note by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, on conservation of Jahangir's tomb at Shahdara, 1902.

If the tomb was meant to be closed in at first, it is curious that it should not have been done. Mr. Marshall no doubt knows the legend about its being left open intentionally. I do not say that any value is to be attached to it, but the opening seems now to have existed for centuries.

In that case I incline to some small structure on the roof. But it should be as light and airy as possible, and before anything is done, models in plaster or canvas must be made, and carefully inspected both from above and still more from below. As it is three and half years since I saw the place, I speak from a not too precise recollection.

10. Letter from Sir C. M. Rivaz, dated 10th May 1902, on conservation of Ancient Monuments in Lahore.

I have been myself to the Wazir Khan and Badshahi Mosques, and have admonished the Mutawali of the former, and the Committee of the latter, as Your Excellency desired.

As regards the buildings in the Fort, I went over them a few days before Your Excellency's visit. We can do nothing with the Chhoti Khwabgah, or the Diwan-i-Am, until the Military vacate them. As regards the Moti Musjid, the building of the new Treasury has dragged more than it should have, but a site has been selected at last and I hope the work will now advance.

Dr. Vogel's report on the Fort buildings was sent to the Military Department last June. I enclose a copy for Your Excellency's perusal. His survey of the Fort is in hand, but not yet finished.

We should certainly bind the Muhammadans down to preserve the tilework in the Railway Mosque as a condition of its restoration. When Mr. Marshall comes, I should like him to advise about Jahangir's tomb at Shahdara. There is a truly hideous sky-light over the beautiful tomb which ought to be replaced by a suitable canopy, but it is not easy to decide what the design of the new canopy should be. There is no reliable record of what the original structure was.

11. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir C. M. Rivaz, dated 7th May 1903, on conservation of Ancient Monuments in Lahore.

I am delighted to hear of the completion of the Treasury building and of the approaching work upon the Moti Musjid.

The other day I had a file from which I learned that (owing to no fault of the Local Government) no similar start has been made with the Chhoti Khwabgah. Eight months ago I suspended the orders for evacuation of this building, in deference to the protests of the Bishop, who pleaded for a little time in which to make fresh arrangements for Divine Service for the troops in the Fort. Apparently the eight months have been spent in an internecine struggle between the Clergy and the Military, the former insisting upon a new church, the latter offering a barrack. It seems to me that the Clergy are unreasonable: and I think that we must now proceed with the restoration of the Chhoti Khwabgah and leave the clerics to get the best accommodation that they can.

12. Letter from Sir C. M. Rivaz, dated 10th May 1903, on restoration of Chhoti Khwabgah.

As regards the Chhoti Khwabagh in the Lahore Fort, there is certainly no necessity for building a church as a place of worship in its stead. I believe that suitable accommodation for such purpose can easily be arranged. For instance, on one of my visits to the Fort, I was shown a room on the other side of the old Imperial garden which is at present used, I was told, as a hospital library. It did not seem really needed as such, and seemed large enough to serve as a church for the few soldiers now quartered in the Fort. I was told, however, the other day by the Executive Engineer that Marshall wished to inspect the Chhoti Khwabgah once more before deciding how its roof should be treated. If this information is correct, the evacuation of the Chhoti Khwabgah might be postponed till Marshall decides on a plan.

13. ORDERS PASSED BY VICEROY AT LAHORE ON 27TH AND 28TH OCTOBER 1905.

Shahdara.

Tomb of Jahangir.—The general policy of conservation which His Excellency laid down is to limit the work in the gardens for the present to the western approach to the tomb; to restore the marble *jali* balustrades, in the first place, on the west façade of the tomb and round the galleries of the minarets, and afterwards to complete them on the other three sides; and to restore the dome over the tomb as nearly as possible to its original condition.

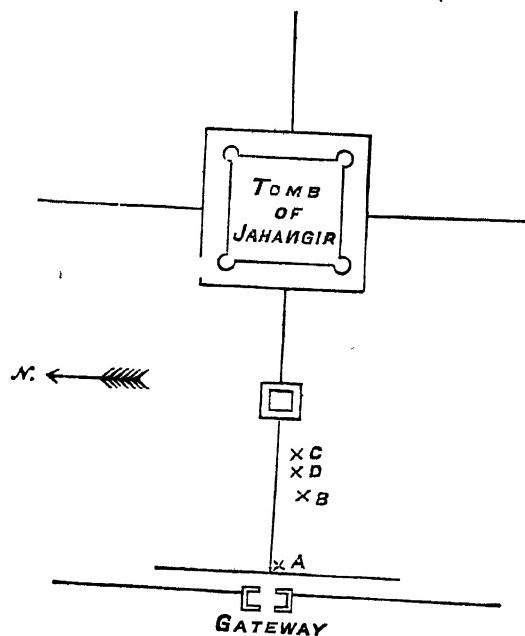
2. *The gateway between the garden of Jahangir's tomb and the Serai.*—Clear away accumulated soil inside the gateway and expose the paved brick floor.

3. Clear out the rooms on the ground floor and provide them with suitable doors.

4. Restore the missing *guldasta* (pinnacle) at the north extremity of the west façade.

5. The window opening in the alcove on the north side of the west façade appears to have been enlarged. There is a corresponding but smaller opening in the alcove on the south side of the façade. Ascertain which is the correct size and make them agree.

6. *The approach to the tomb from the west.*—Remove the large mango tree marked A on sketch and the two palm trees, C and D, immediately at the edge of the path. The palm tree marked B may remain.



7. Remove the little trees and the chrysanthemums along the edge of the channel. There should be no sort of hedge near the channel.

8. The channels is diverted and broken away for a distance of about 10 feet from the west end. Restore this portion, and carry off the water at a right angle along the channel.

9. Restore the water channels round the tank E, and complete the square. Also remove the rockery round the exterior of the tank.

10. Fill the tank E with water, and restore the cascades in each of the four sides, so that the water may flow down them into the channels.

11. Remove the modern path, which crosses the channel between the tank E and the tomb, and continue the channel up to the east end.

12. Remove the flower pots and the steps made of earth on which they stand, from the west side of the platform of the tomb. There should be no flower beds at the base of this platform.

13. *The tomb of Jahangir.*—Continue the marble *jali* balustrade all along the top of the west façade.

14. Restore the *jali* balustrades round the stages of the minarets.

15. The *pietra dura* should be restored, where missing, on the sarcophagus in the central chamber.

16. Repair the *jali* screen on the north side of the central chamber, where one panel is bulging inwards.

17. Repair pieces of the marble facing of the central chamber which have been burst by the corrosion of iron dowels.

18. *The roof of the central chamber.*—Remove the modern wooden skylight and examine carefully the edges of the opening. If no fresh indication of the form of the original covering is found, complete the dome on the pattern of the domical soffits of the archways in the four sides of the central chamber, *i. e.*, with a medallion in the centre, and a bare space around, bounded by the zig-zag edges of the groined facets. In order to perpetuate the legend connected with the opening in the roof, its position may be indicated by a circular line of black marble inlaid in the paving stones of the roof.

19. *The tomb of Asaf Khan.*—Replace the existing iron water-shoots over the octagonal storey with stone spouts.

20. *The tomb of Nur Jahan.*—Remove rubbish and clean the floor.

The Mosque of Wazir Khan.

21. Remove the standard water boilers from the tank in the centre of the courtyard.

22. Lay underneath the paving the pipe on the east side of the tank. Restore the fountain in the centre of the tank, and remove the present water spout.

23. Provide a new lamp-post instead of the iron rail, which has been erected on the west side of the tank. The new lamp should be of a similar, but simpler, design to the one presented by His Excellency to the Badshahi Musjid.

24. Provide a new hanging lamp, similar to one that is being made for the Taj at Agra, to take the place of the one now hanging in the prayer-chamber.

25. Provide a more suitable cover for the top of the pulpit presented by His Excellency.

26. It should be arranged that no innovations of any kind—such as boilers, lamps, or structural alterations—should be introduced by the manager without reference to the Archaeological Department.

27. The repainting of white patches on the walls of the prayer-chamber may be cautiously proceeded with in places where the contrast between the new work and the old is not likely to be obtrusive.

28. Remove the wall which has been erected on the lower stage of the minaret on the south side of the prayer-chamber to prevent people from climbing into the mosque from neighbouring houses. The Archaeological Surveyor will devise a more suitable means of keeping trespassers out.

29. No attempt should be made to restore any of the ancient tilework, as proposed by the manager.

The Badshahi Mosque.

30. Construct suitable gratings in place of the present loose stones over the manholes in the courtyard.

31. Provide a suitable lamp for the prayer-chamber instead of the one recently hung there.

32. Keep the courtyard tidy, and stack neatly the stones kept on the premises for repairs.

33. Remove the grind stone, that used to do duty as a lamp holder, from the west side of the tank.

34. Place in a less obtrusive position the notice on the gateway regarding the removal of shoes.

The Fort.

35. Arrangements will be made with the Military authorities for the removal of the store house which obscures the tile-decoration on the wall adjoining the main gate; for the construction of a path which will enable visitors to see the walls to advantage from below; and for the clearing up of the moat generally.

36. *The Moti Musjid.*—By degrees the inlay in the parapet round the court-yard is to be restored.

37. Remove the pencil marks from some patches of new marble inserted in the walls of the courtyard and mosque.

38. Place finger-signs to direct visitors to the entrance to the mosque.

39. *Saman Burj Court*.—Remove the parapet round the central tank, lay on water to the latter, and restore the channels on the four sides.

40. Restore the broken buds and top rail of the screen adjoining the Naulakha Burj.

41. His Excellency approved of the proposal to dismantle and re-erect the central bay on the west façade of the Naulakha, and to restore the copper gilt roof.

42. Remove the recently erected tablet from the south wall of the Shish Mahal, and place a fresh tablet inside the building between the two pilasters at the south-east corner.

43. As regards the Shish Mahal ceiling, His Excellency agreed that the best course would be to try and preserve it in its present condition by supporting any unsound timber from above ; but that if this could not be done successfully, it would be better to prop it up from below rather than dismantle the ceiling.

An attempt should be made to repair the ugly rent towards the east end with plaster and glass, or if this fails, with plain wood with the main designs, outlined in relief. If the latter material is used, it will be necessary to cut off square the ragged edges of the old plaster. These works should be carried on without delay in order to prevent further enlargement of the rent in the roof.

44. Restore in marble the sandstone panels of the *jali* balustrade along the top of the east wall of the courtyard. The sandstone *mutakkas* should be left.

45. *The Baradari on the right hand side of the entrance to the Shish Mahal court-yard*.—Get rid of the wasps in the ceiling.

46. Remove the scribbling from the walls.

47. *The Chhoti Khwabgah*.—Lay out the garden with grass lawns and trees, in place of the present untidy flower beds.

48. Repave the patches in the floor of the *Khwabgah* from which the paving is missing.

49. A Committee will be appointed to meet in the Lahore Fort and arrange, if possible, for the taking over by the Public Works Department of the large quadrangle on the north side of the Diwan-i-Am, together with all the ancient buildings included within it. These comprise the Roman Catholic Chapel marked No. 41 on the Military map, the corresponding building on the opposite side of the garden now occupied by the medical officer, and the sandstone colonnades in a line with the Roman Catholic Chapel. The Committee will also arrange for the demolition of the modern structures intermediate between the above buildings and the Diwan-i-Am, viz., the cook-houses and water tank and modern godown on the north side of the Diwan-i-Am.

50. *The Diwan-i-Am*.—Remove the modern partitions from between the columns all round the building, the modern walls in the north-east corner of the interior, and also the verandah on the south side.

51. Remove the modern plaster from the columns.

52. Restore the railing round the platform on the south side of the hall.

53. Restore the railing round the throne.

54. Restore the steps leading up to the platform on the east and west sides and remove those on the south.

55. *The Mosque of Dai Anga*.—His Excellency expressed his approval of the programme which has been submitted to the Public Works by the Archaeological Department for the dismantling of modern partitions, restoration of *mihrabs*, and repairs to the pavement in front of the mosque, etc.

W. H. NICHOLLS,

29th October 1905.

Archaeological Surveyor,

United Provinces and Punjab Circle.

14. Letter from Viceroy, to Major-General F. W. Kitchener, C.B., Commanding the Lahore Division, dated 31st October 1905, on restoration of Ancient Buildings in Lahore.

I am sorry that you have not been at Lahore during my visit, because there are a number of questions connected with the buildings in the Fort, concerning which I should have sought your co-operation in arriving at a final settlement. Since I first came to Lahore in 1899, great improvement has been made and the Military authorities have very kindly met me in many most important respects in the evacuation or surrender of buildings of archaeological beauty or value. Thus the Moti Musjid, which had been converted into a Treasury, is now restored; the Chhoti Khwabgah is no longer a church, and the Diwan-i-Am, which I found used as a sleeping apartment for soldiers, has been evacuated. I have issued orders while here to undertake the repair and renovation of this building without further delay. It cannot compare with the corresponding Audience Halls at Agra and Delhi; but it is sufficiently characteristic and striking to merit preservation.

There are a number of other buildings, however, concerning which I must invite your active help. I thought that in the cases of some of them orders had been issued years ago, and I expected to find them carried out. But in several cases I found no change, and in order to bring matters to a head I would ask

you to favour me by becoming the head of a small Committee, to whom the points at issue should be referred. I would depute to join you Mr. Marshall, Director General of Archaeology, and Mr. Nicholls, the Archaeological Surveyor, under whose charge Lahore is; I would ask Sir C. Rivaz to select a representative of his Public Works Department; you could put on any officer whom you liked, thoroughly acquainted with the interior of the Fort; and if I can think of any one to represent the Government of India in the Military Department, I will send him. We had a similar Committee in Delhi a few years ago, to which I sent Sir E. Barrow, and they settled up all the similar questions in connection with the Delhi Fort in no time.

First let me state the point of view from which I, and I believe everyone else, regard the Lahore Fort. It is an isolated position which we consider it desirable to retain because of its prestige and because it dominates the native city. But it is inconceivable that in the event of a rising in Lahore the European population would fly there for shelter, for they would have to pass through the entire native city before ever getting there. I imagine that the European population would go to Mian Mir or the Railway Station, and that the Fort would be held by a garrison until relieved. This prelude, in which I think you will agree, dispenses us from treating the Fort as a place in which the European population of Lahore will ever be shut up and besieged, as was the case with the Agra Fort in 1857.

Now for details—

(1) Immediately to the left hand upon entering the main or Hathi Pao gate, there is a long low building marked on the map "Commissariat Store No. 76." This building completely obscures the lower portion of the Fort wall containing the famous tile panels of elephant fights, etc., which can now only be seen from a distance or not seen at all. It ought unquestionably to be removed. I should be very glad if you could give orders for the stores to be accommodated elsewhere. When the building has been removed, I have arranged with the Lieutenant-Governor to clear away all the loose rubbish and stones in the moat and make a nice pathway round, through the broken-down gate in the north-west corner, so that visitors may wander round and look up at all the Mogul tilework from below.

(2) When the Diwan-i-Am has been renovated, I want to restore, as far as possible, the original open garden behind it (which is marked in the Sikh map) right up to the Bari Khwabgah on the walls of the Fort. This will necessitate the removal or evacuation of a certain number of buildings.

(3) Immediately behind the throne in the Diwan-i-Am are a number of rooms built by Ranjit Singh, those of course will remain. But behind and below them is a long low building marked $\frac{7}{7}$ on the map which ought to be removed. I do not know what it is. A little beyond this again is a structure marked on the map as a rain gauge, and also possessing the mysterious initials G. T. S. B. M. R. L. This would be actually on the site of the restored garden

and is a terrible eyesore into the bargain. It should go. A little beyond are some low cook-houses on either side which ought also to be removed.

(4) If we clear away these buildings we obtain a clear space from the Diwan-i-Am right up to the Bari Khwabgah, which is marked in the military map as Sergeants' Mess. I do not think it is now used as such, for it was locked up when I visited the Fort. Whatever the contents may be, the building should be evacuated.

(5) I now come to the only two remaining cases in which your intervention may be of powerful use. On either side, east and west, of the platform, on which the Bari Khwabgah stands, are two really very beautiful little buildings with red sandstone porches or arcades richly carved with heavy brackets. Three years ago I obtained entrance with some difficulty into the one on the west which I was told constituted the quarters of a Hospital Assistant or Apothecary. Inside there was a Eurasian mother, a man in bed, and a pervading air of squalor. I spoke about it to the Military authorities at the time and they promised early evacuation. Three days ago I revisited the same premises. I cannot swear to the identity of the parties, but the Eurasian mother, the man in bed, and the squalor were all there as before. I would ask that this building be evacuated. Probably the same considerations should apply to one or two of the adjoining buildings on the same or western side of the original square. But I had not time to examine them closely.

(6) On the opposite or eastern side the corresponding building is occupied as a Roman Catholic Church. I do not myself think that this is in any case a proper use for such a building. But in the present case it is further condemned by the fact that we cannot restore the building as we desire to do without breaking into the wall of the church. I was also under the impression that the evacuation of this building had been agreed to three years ago. But nothing appears to have been done. It ought surely not to be difficult to provide suitably in some other building for the church services of the tiny handful of Roman Catholic soldiers in the small garrison of the Fort.

(7) Extending from this building southwards towards the Diwan-i-Am is a row of buildings used, I believe, as stores of various descriptions, which I should similarly like to see evacuated and restored because of their beautiful architectural features dating from the time of Jahangir (*i.e.*, an arcade with heavy brackets of semi-Hindu design).

The whole of these buildings should be handed over to the Public Works Department to be taken charge of by them. There would of course be no desire to put the Military to any unjustifiable inconvenience. The whole of the remainder of that vast Fort is open either to be used or to be built upon for their convenience, and with a little good-will there ought not to be the slightest difficulty either in finding suitable accommodation or in creating it, if it is not there already.

I am giving a copy of this letter both to Sir C. Rivaz, who accompanied me in my investigations, and to Mr. Marshall, and though I shall not be here to see the matter through, I can assure you that no individual piece of news could give me greater pleasure in my retirement than to hear that with your friendly co-operation it has been carried to a successful issue.

15. *Letter from Major-General Kitchener, dated 4th November 1905, replying to above.*

I regret being away on leave when you visited the Fort. Your letter of 31st October was only delivered to me on my return yesterday evening.

I think His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor can tell you that in all measures calculated to restore the Fort to its archaeological bearings and in every measure of evacuation by the Military, I am a most zealous worker. I shall be most pleased to work with Mr. Marshall and Mr. Nicholls in giving effect to your orders.

I would ask your assistance in one small matter. Would you mind mentioning your wishes to Lord Minto as we shall require his assistance? With the exception of the Roman Catholic Chapel none of the Military occupations you refer to are under my powers directly, and financial difficulties may be raised. With Lord Minto's interest directed to the subject by Your Excellency, the Committee will be able to overcome these obstructions as they arise. You may count on my strenuously undertaking the carrying out of your orders.

LUCKNOW.

1. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 5th February 1903, on preservation of Secundra Bagh.*

I heard the other day a pathetic account of the present condition of the Secundra Bagh at Lucknow—that the walls are tumbling down, the bricks being stolen and carried away, and the whole place in a state of rack and ruin. It appears not to be a military possession, and therefore the soldiers can do nothing to preserve it. Is it possible to do anything to maintain the place in a condition of decent repair? After all it was the scene of a very historic and momentous episode, though, when some one suggested to me the idea of a commemorative slab, I rather shied at that proposal.

2. *Letter from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 10th February 1903, on preservation of Secundra Bagh.*

I shall arrange to have the walls of the Secundra Bagh at Lucknow protected from further decay. The place consisted only of a walled garden, and through this garden a main road was driven after the Mutiny. We are now spending some money in improving the Horticultural Garden, which is unkempt on the side where it adjoins the Secundra Bagh. These improvements will civilize the surroundings of the latter place. I have written to the Commissioner asking him to work out proposals, and, after my return to Lucknow on 21st, I shall send you a note as to what is being done.

3. *Letter (Extract) from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 17th January 1905, on extension of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.*

I have read with interest Mr. Marshall's report of the Agra restorations in the Archaeological Survey Report for 1902-03. It is a satisfactory account of

well-executed and solid restoration in accordance with the instructions personally given by Your Excellency. In Lucknow there is one work I am specially anxious to carry out—an extension of the Provincial Museum. I give below an extract from the Annual Report for the year ending 31st March 1904, page 33 of Archæological Survey :—

" It is of still greater importance, however, that the exhibits should be displayed in such a manner as to enable those interested in the subject to study on the spot each sculpture or inscription in all its details. At present this cannot be said to be possible for want both of light and space. The exhibits are placed close together, taking up the entire ground-floor rooms of the museum building. An attempt has been made lately to remedy the scantiness of light, but the results are hardly satisfactory. Moreover, there is every reason to expect that in a Province which was the centre of Buddhism and Brahminical civilization a much larger number of sculptures and other archæological objects will yet come to light. In this connection I may refer to my remarks regarding sculptures and inscriptions met with in the course of my recent tour in Bundelkhand. The space now available will hardly allow of any additions being made to the existing exhibits. It is, therefore, earnestly hoped that some more spacious and better lighted building will be found to accommodate this interesting archæological collection."

There are still sculptured stones in the Allahabad Public Library which ought to be removed to Lucknow. The style of any new additional building is fixed by the surroundings. A replica of the main Baradari would cost about Rs. 1,12,000 : a counterpart of the building flanking the Baradari on the east would cost Rs. 70,000. Though doles to Local Governments are to cease, possibly provision might be made in the Archæological Department for the construction of this work.

4. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 7th April 1905, about the site of the new obelisk at Lucknow.

I was talking at dinner last night about the site of the new grey obelisk in the Residency grounds at Lucknow. Pope, who was here, said (1) that he had heard a great many people express the same opinion as to the unsuitability of the present site ; (2) that it was by a mere accident that it was selected, the fault, as I understand, of the Railway Company. The truck or van in which they were conveying the stone broke down in the grounds close to the present site. It was considered necessary to have the ceremony of opening without delay, in order to suit the convenience of Sir A. M. and Lady Inglis, and accordingly the monument was hastily put up where it is ; (3) that he thought no one would object to its transfer to a less ostentatious spot.

I feel this most strongly myself. There are a score of sites in the garden without actually encroaching almost upon the Residency walls, and I would gladly see the pillar shifted further away.

Will you think this over ?

5. *Letter from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 8th April 1905, on graves in the Wilayati Bagh.*

His Excellency handed to me a letter that he had received about graves in the Wilayati Bagh, and I return it together with a report by the Commissioner.

I have seen the place myself this morning. The tombs and enclosures are in excellent order and the Dhobis' Ghât on the river in no way desecrates the tombs.

All through the time of the advance in 1858 there are tombs with brick enclosures of men and officers who were killed.

F.C.

The ground is not consecrated, and this seems the main point about which the correspondent is troubled.

I do not think that the Wilayati Bagh should be turned into a cemetery. There has never been any publicly expressed desire that the scattered tombs should be removed with the remains to consecrated ground. This is, I think myself, desirable, but I do not propose to move in the matter.

Enclosures of No. 5:

(1) *Letter from a "Globe-trotter," dated 26th March 1905.*

As His Excellency the Viceroy is going to visit Lucknow, might I call attention to three graves which are in a deserted garden about a mile from the Dilkusha Palace at Lucknow ! The graves are those of three men who fell in the taking of Lucknow, one is that of a Captain Hely Hutchinson of the 9th Lancers, one of a Mr. Price, a petty officer in the Naval Brigade, the third is undecipherable. They are in fairly good order, but the garden has become a Dhobis' Ghât and the graves are surrounded by drying clothes and dhobis' families and donkies. The cemetery in Lucknow is very crowded and if the walls of this garden were repaired it would be a very suitable site for a new cemetery, and the tombs of those poor fellows would at least be in hallowed ground. One cannot but feel that men who died fighting for their country deserve a more honoured burial place than these men have received, and if His Excellency would make enquiries at Lucknow perhaps something might be done,

for they at all events did as much as Sir H. Lawrence did. They died for their country. The garden where these tombs are is on the river bank on the way to the Government dairy, but I have forgotten the name of it I am sorry to say.

(2) *Letter from G. A. Tweedy, Esq., Offg. Commissioner, Lucknow Division, to H. G. S. Tyler, Esq., Private Secretary to the Lieutenant-Governor, United Provinces, dated 7th April 1905.*

Your letter of the 3rd instant forwarding a petition received by His Excellency the Viceroy on the subject of tombs near the Dilkusha Palace. The letter is full of misleading statements. The graves to which the writer alludes are those of Captain Hely Hutchinson, 9th Lancers, and Sergeant Newman of the same Regiment which are in one enclosure, and of Mr. Garvey, petty officer of H. M. S. *Shannon*, which is in another enclosure. There is no "undecipherable" tomb, but the writer has probably taken an old native tomb which stands near them for a Christian grave. These tombs are situated in the Wilayati Bagh on the bank of the Goomti just beyond the railway and are looked after by the Public Works Department. They are in good condition, and the two enclosures are surrounded by brick walls about 3 feet high which are in excellent order and effectually keep out all cattle, donkeys, etc. The statement that the graves are used as a drying ground for dhobis is preposterous. There is a Dhobis' Ghât on the river bank below the Bagh, and it is possible that on occasions clothes are spread out in the Bagh, but I saw nothing of the kind when I visited the spot two or three days ago.

6. *Letter from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 15th April 1905, on the site of the granite obelisk at Lucknow.*

I am getting out the papers about the granite obelisk in the Residency at Lucknow and shall take up the question of its removal to another site. Mr. Porter, the Commissioner, has papers in his office, and I have paid two visits to the Residency to consider sites.

7. *Letter from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 15th April 1905, on his presentation of "Lieutenant Mecham's views of Lucknow after the Mutiny" and "the Mutiny Album" to the Lucknow Residency.*

I am sending to you the two volumes which I promised. The first is Lieutenant Mecham's views of Lucknow after the Mutiny. I suggest that the plates be framed separately and suitably behind glass and hung on the walls of the room

which we visited in the Residency. It might be well to place on the frames a small label to the effect that they were given by me, not in the least in order to advertise the gift, but to persuade other donors to come and do likewise.

The second gift is a copy of the well-known Mutiny Album. This requires to be handsomely rebound. It would seem a pity to take the pages from it and frame them separately. Moreover, the photographs would probably fade if exposed to the light. Perhaps, therefore, the album might lie on a table or in a drawer or under a glass-case in the room for inspection by such visitors as desired to see it.

With a little activity I think that a very interesting collection might easily be got together in the same room, which might in this way become a Residency Museum just as we now have a Taj Museum.

I will shortly send you some additions to the latter.

8. Letter from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 6th May 1905, on improvement of the Lucknow Residency.

I was at Naini Tal when Your Excellency's letter of 15th April regarding the Lucknow Residency arrived.

Your gifts of "Lieutenant Mecham's Views of Lucknow" and of the "Mutiny Album" had been sent direct to Lucknow, and I waited till I heard of their receipt by the Commissioner before replying. Meanwhile I sent instructions as in Your Excellency's letter to Mr. Porter.

I enclose a letter received from him. We had arranged to improve the model-room : to make the interior more civilized ; but not to alter the exterior except by removing the glaring whitewash at the entrance. Things are in train, and I shall write again as soon as the plans for improving the room have been received.

Enclosure of No. 8 :

Letter from Hon'ble Mr. L. A. S. Porter, Commissioner, Lucknow Division, to H. G. S. Tyler, Esq., dated 3rd May 1905.

The box of books from the Viceroy has only just reached me. The wishes of the Viceroy will be carried out as soon as possible, but for the following reasons there will be some slight delay.

(1) The volume of "Mutiny Memoirs" will require re-binding as the binding is broken. I will see if there is a good binder here. If not the book will have to be sent to Calcutta.

(2) Laurie has left Lucknow for Naini Tal, so frames for the pictures will have to be got from Calcutta. Plain gold frames of good quality will, I think, be most suitable.

(3) A suitable case—with an inscription—for the volume of "Memoirs" will have to be made.

(4) Waits and I are preparing a scheme for the improvement of the model-room. The scheme will include colour-washing the walls, providing a decent floor (of marble or coloured tiles), removing the dirty retiring room to a more suitable place, closing all outside openings with wire-netting to keep out bats, removing the unsightly modern partition walls from the surrounding rooms (which were put up to provide a residence for a previous caretaker), etc.

Plans and estimates of these proposals are under preparation and will be sent up when ready for approval. Until the room is ready there is no great object in hanging more pictures.

9. Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 13th May 1905, suggesting that Tennyson's poem "The Defence of Lucknow" should be hung up in the Residency Museum, Lucknow.

In connection with the Residency Museum at Lucknow I suggest to you that you should have Tennyson's splendid poem,—"The Defence of Lucknow" printed in gold letters and framed and hung up on the wall. It would interest many visitors to read those glorious lines on the spot which inspired them. It is not every day that an Indian site is immortalized by a great poet.

10. Letter (Extract) from Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 16th May 1905, about the site of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry Memorial at the Lucknow Residency.

I have now collected such information as we possess about the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry Memorial at the Lucknow Residency.

The battalion which was at Lucknow in 1899 is now at Wynberg, Cape Colony. Lieutenant-Colonel Turnbull commanded the Regiment in 1899: the present Commanding Officer is Lieutenant-Colonel E. J. Hollway. Apparently it was desired to mark the fact that the 32nd Regiment were the principal defenders of the Residency, and as such were entitled to have their memorial nearer to the building than any other regiment. The site was selected by the Regiment and approved by Sir Antony MacDonnell, who made a famous speech on the occasion.

The present site is unquestionably a bad one. Even if it is desired to have the memorial in close proximity to the building a better site would be on the

lawn in front of the entrance to the museum. Below the museum are the underground rooms where the women and children lived during the siege, and on this site the memorial would have much more meaning.

A letter from Your Excellency to the Regiment would have greater effect than if I wrote, but if you approve of the site in front of the museum and wish me to write I shall do so.

11. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to Sir J. D. LaTouche, dated 29th May 1905, about the site of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry Memorial at the Lucknow Residency.*

The Viceroy thinks that he had better not move in the matter of the removal of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry Memorial at the Lucknow Residency, and that the most suitable course will be for you to write to the regiment, using such argument as you can. His Excellency also desires me to say that you are, of course, at liberty to mention that the Viceroy agrees with you, and regards the present site of the Memorial as most unsuitable.

12. *Letter from H. G. S. Tyler, Esq., dated 20th October 1905, about the site of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry Memorial at the Lucknow Residency.*

His Honour desires me to send you the enclosed letter from Colonel Hollway for the information of His Excellency.

Enclosure of No. 12 :

Letter from Lieut.-Col. E. J. Hollway, Commanding 1st Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, Wynberg, Cape Colony, dated 20th September 1905.

I am much obliged for your letter and the photographs and plan which reached me last week. I am quite in agreement with Lord Curzon and yourself regarding the site of the granite obelisk, i. e., that the proposed alteration would be of advantage from the point of view of general effect, but when I remember, as I do most vividly, that most impressive ceremony of its inauguration, and the words of Lady Inglis and Sir Antony MacDonnell on the occasion, I feel that strong sentiment fixes it in that particular spot, and that it would be undesirable to agree to its removal to another, though possibly more effective, position.

Besides sentiment, I am sure that you would find the removal a most difficult job ; the two blocks of granite of which the memorial is composed are very heavy and the obelisk is imbedded in the pedestal with cement, and I think there would be considerable risk in attempting to separate the two stones prior to removal.

I will, however, communicate with Colonels Turnbull and Verschoyle, and get the opinions of some of the past officers of the Regiment and write you again later on.

MADRAS.

- Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. E. Havelock, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Governor of Madras, dated 15th January 1900, on conservation of a mosque at Vellore.*

I add a line on a subject very dear to my own heart, *viz.*, the conservation of ancient monuments in India. The enclosed extract* will explain the questions

* Not printed.

which I desire to put. Is the mosque in question ancient and beautiful as well as famous? Has it for long been desecrated in the manner described? Is it capable of restoration? Is there any good reason why it should not be restored? In the course of my tour, I gave orders for a similar restitution in other cases in which mosques of great beauty and interest have been desecrated by conversion to civil uses. Perhaps you could procure and send me some photographs of the building at Vellore.

- Letter from Sir A. E. Havelock, dated 11th February 1900, on conservation of a mosque and temple in Vellore Fort, and on the old palace at Chandragiri.*

If I may be permitted to say so, I share your solicitude for the preservation of ancient monuments in India. The mosque about which you ask is in the fort at Vellore. In the course of a tour which I finished last week, Vellore was one of the places which I visited. I made it my business to see the building in question, and to get at its history, and I now proceed to answer your questions. It is difficult to fix the age of the building, but I think I may safely say that it is of no great antiquity. To my mind it is not beautiful, and it certainly is not famous. It has been used for 60 or 70 years for purposes other than those of public worship. For some time it served, I believe, as a military store: it has also been occupied by the Post Office; and it is now an office for the Forest Department. It is in a good state of repair; and it could be used again as a mosque without any restoration or alteration, if it were thought expedient to allow of its being again set apart for the purpose of Muhammadan worship. The question of allowing it to be again so used has been more than once considered by the Madras Government and has always been decided in the negative. Situated, as the building is, within the fort, in the close neighbourhood of the public offices of the District, and at a considerable distance from the Muhammadan quarter of the town, the assembling

of Muhammadans there for worship and religious ceremonies might cause inconvenience in the public offices, and would not be convenient to the Muhammadans themselves. Moreover, there is a fine Hindu temple in the fort, which is now disused, but for the restoration of which to Hindu worship there has been some agitation. It is considered undesirable that this temple should be resumed by the Hindus. If permission for the resumption of Muhammadan worship were given in the case of the mosque, it would be difficult to refuse permission in respect of the Hindu temple. I have ordered some photographs to be taken of the mosque and I will send them to you when I get them. In the meanwhile, I enclose a rough sketch of the building taken on the spot.

The Fort at Vellore is of considerable antiquity, possesses much historical interest, and is quite beautiful in its way. It is in good preservation, and it is carefully looked after. The Hindu temple inside it, which I have just mentioned, pleased me more than any other building of the kind I have seen in Southern India. It is much smaller than the Madura temple, and than many others of the better-known temples : but it contains less of that grotesque and exaggerated ornamentation which is the chief feature of Hindu temples, and which, though, it astonishes one by its costliness and by its ingenuity of execution, fails to satisfy one's sense of the beautiful. The Vellore temple is in charge of the Public Works Department, and it is well cared for. It is favourably mentioned by Fergusson, but it is not used as a store, as he says it is. Another place of interest and of beauty which I visited in my tour was Chandragiri, where there is a charmingly picturesque old palace surrounded by a rock fortress dating from the year 1000. It was here that the deed conveying the site on which Fort St. George and the city of Madras now stand to the East India Company was executed. The palace is in a fair state of repair, and is used as a travellers' rest-house. I was lodged in it, and found it a cool and pleasant abode.

3. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. E. Havelock, dated 7th April 1900, on restoration of mosque and the temple in Vellore Fort.

I am very grateful for all the trouble that you took about the mosque at Vellore, for the full information, the sketch, and the photograph. I think that your reasons for not restoring the building to purposes of public worship are convincing. If the mosque were one of great architectural beauty, I should be disposed to plead for its restoration, in spite of these reasons. But the building appears to be destitute either of beauty or distinction ; while the great length of time for which it has been turned to secular uses ought to have finally impaired its sanctity in the eyes even of the most fervent devotee. I hope some day to see Vellore Fort, and the Hindu temple inside it to which you call my attention.

4. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. E. Havelock, dated 9th April 1900, on a sculptured monolith at Sompalle in the Cuddapah District.

In connection with my archaeological researches, I have heard of a sculptured monolith, some 60 feet high, that stands near a ruined temple in a village called Sompalle in the Madanapalle Sub-division of the Cuddapah District, between two and three miles from the railway. I believe that it is not included in the published list of monuments in the Madras Presidency.

Would you be so kind as to have enquiries made as to its continued existence, state of preservation, etc.? Perhaps, too, a photograph could be taken of it and sent to me.

I fancy that but few persons are aware of its existence.

5. Letter from Sir A. E. Havelock, dated 1st May 1900, giving particulars of sculptured monolith at Sompalle.

I find that the sculptured monolith which you mentioned in your letter of the 9th April, as standing near a ruined temple in the village of Sompalle in the Cuddapah District, is not noticed in Sewell's Archaeological Survey of Southern India, although the existence of the temple itself, and of some inscriptions upon, is recorded. I have asked the Collector of the District about the monolith, and he replies as follows:—"I saw the Sompalle Temple last November. It is a gem in its way, having most exquisite carvings, and also old paintings in the roof. The latter are much gone. The sculptured monolith alluded to by His Excellency is unique. It is high, of a grey yellow granite, and tapers to a point: is carved with figures at the bottom, and has a wavy line pattern all the way up on four sides." I will request Mr. Rea, our Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, to go to the spot, to examine and describe the monolith, and to photograph it. I will communicate the result to you.

6. Letter from Sir A. E. Havelock, dated 17th May 1900, on preservation of the temple and the monolith at Sompalle.

I have much pleasure in sending you further information about the Sompalle Temple and the monolith adjacent to it. It consists of:—

(1) A report* on the temple by Mr. Rea, Superintendent, Archaeological

* Not printed.

Survey, made in 1892, in which there is a mention of the monolith.

* Not printed.

(2) Extracts* from letters addressed to Mr. Rea, describing the temple and monolith.

These monuments are evidently of great beauty and interest ; and I regret to see at the foot of Mr. Rea's Report an expression of opinion by the Madras Government that the Sompalle Temple should not be added to the existing list, nor should any expenditure be incurred on its conservation.

Mr. Rea writes to say that he is making arrangements to go and inspect the building again. When I get his report, I shall have an opportunity of taking measures for its preservation.

I enclose photographs of the temple and monolith together, and of the monolith by itself.

7. Letter from Sir A. E. Havelock, dated 4th July 1900, on preservation of the temple and monolith at Sompalle.

I am at last able to send you the report † of Mr. Rea, the Superintendent of the Madras Archaeological Survey, on the

† Not printed. temple and monolith at Sompalle in the

Cuddapah District. I also send (in a box) some photographs of the temple and monolith. The temple possesses some points of special beauty and interest. I propose to give directions for carrying out such repairs as will stop the further progress of decay. The monolith is quite beautiful. It seems to be safe in its present position. I think it would be a mistake to move it.

8. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir A. E. Havelock, dated 14th July 1900, on preservation of the temple and monolith at Sompalle.

I have received and studied with equal admiration and interest the exquisite photographs which you have sent to me of the temple and lamp-pillar at Sompalle, as also the minute archaeological report of Mr. Rea.

It is, as you said in an earlier letter of May 15th, a great pity that the Madras Government, to whom he first reported as long ago as 1892, should have thought the matter so little worthy of their attention as to veto any expenditure upon the conservation of the temple. The result of their ill-judged parsimony is clearly shown in the fuller report which Mr. Rea has now, under your instructions, submitted, and in which he speaks of the decay as being now "more advanced,"

and of the paintings from the Ramayana on the roof of the main entrance to the shrine as "having been much destroyed by washing of the colour, and the plaster dropping off," owing to leaks in the roof. I trust, however, that your prompt intervention and orders may arrest any further decay and ensure that both temple and pillar are well looked after in the future.

9. Letter from Sir A. E. Havelock, dated 26th October 1900, on presentation of a Buddhist Relic in the Madras Government Central Museum to the King of Siam.

Some time ago, a suggestion was made to me by Sir Arthur Godley that it would be a gracious act for the Government of Madras to offer for the acceptance of the King of Siam a relic of Buddha, found in the Godavari District, which is now in the Madras Museum. After some hesitation we agreed to accept this suggestion, and I wrote to the Siamese Minister in London asking him to make the offer to His Majesty. The Minister replied that he would communicate to the King the offer of the Madras Government. At this stage of the proceedings it occurred to me that, as our proposed action might be held to be of the nature of business which properly comes within the purview of the Indian Foreign Department, we ought to have referred the matter to the Government of India. We are now addressing the Government of India on the subject; and I must express my regret for not having taken this step at the first stage of the transaction.

10. Notes by Viceroy on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, on a proposal to present a Buddhist Relic in the Madras Government Central Museum to the King of Siam.

I saw this relic at Madras. Intrinsically it is of no value; although if it be, as believed, a fragment from a bone of Buddha himself, it possesses great historical and sentimental interest; while I do not at all agree with the Madras Government in thinking that the crystal phial in which it was found is—considering its great antiquity—without any special artistic or archæological merit. In my judgment these interesting relics should be conserved in the country to which they originally belonged, and where they have been re-discovered; and it is, I think, a mistaken generosity to present them gratuitously to others. The King of Siam has already been handsomely treated by the Government of India in respect of Buddhistic relics, and the present one should, I think, continue to find a place in the Madras Museum.

I may add, though this is not for repetition, that my reluctance to let it go to Bangkok is enhanced by the probability that a day may one day come when whatever treasures there are in the palace at Bangkok are not unlikely to be forcibly transferred to the Louvre.

21-12-00.

I am afraid that I am reluctantly driven to the same conclusion as Hon'ble Member. The extraordinary thing is that Sir A. Havelock, who was with me when I saw the relic, and when I said that it ought not to be allowed to go, never mentioned the offer which he had himself made of it to the King of Siam.

The above, of course, is not for communication. But I think we should caution the Madras Government against parting on a future occasion with relics of historical or archæological value—since it is the desire of the Government of India that they should be preserved in the country.

8-2-01.

Since writing the above, I have heard from the Government of Madras that Sir A. Havelock, in making the offer to the King of Siam, did so entirely on his own responsibility and without consulting any of his colleagues. The Madras Government pray me to allow them to retain the relic, and do not see why they should be bound by the irregular action of the late Governor.

I think I had better arrange the matter by writing a confidential letter to the British Representative at Bangkok, acquainting him with the facts of the case, and telling him to let the Siamese authorities know privately that a mistake was made, and that the matter had better be quietly dropped.

The Madras Government can be informed in the sense of the last paragraph.

14-2-01.

11. Letter from Lord Ampthill, G.C.I.E., Governor of Madras, dated 9th February 1901, on presentation of a Buddhist Relic in the Madras Government Central Museum to the King of Siam.

I am very glad that you refused to let us give the Buddha relic to Siam. Sir Arthur Havelock arranged the matter, as I believe he himself told you, entirely off his own bat, and acted, I think, entirely *ultra vires*. My colleagues and Mr. Thurston of the Museum (whom you met here) are much relieved at our being able to retain the relic.

12. Letter from Viceroy, to Lord Ampthill, dated 21st March 1902, on preservation of the Asoka inscription at Purushattapur in Ganjam.

The other day an old planter named Minchin, who has lived in Ganjam since about the date of the flood, was here, and I was asking him about the state of the Asoka inscription at Purushattapur in Ganjam. He showed me photographs from which it appeared that the inscription is fading rapidly, and that the face of the rock upon which it is inscribed has been in part mutilated by vandals, and is in part perishing from exposure. Would you be so good as to consult your Archæologist, Mr. Rea, who probably knows it, whether it would be possible to fix a small wooden shelter or eave, on to the rock, which might project like a thatch, and protect it during the rains ?

13. Letter from Lord Ampthill, dated 4th April 1902, on preservation of the Asoka inscriptions at Purushattapur.

I have seen the venerable Mr. F. J. Minchin since I received your letter, and heard from his own lips about the Asoka inscription at Purushattapur. He told me that the idea of protecting the inscription has been mooted for the past twenty years, but that nothing has been done. You may rely on me to see that something is done now ; I have written to Mr. Rea, whom, I confess with shame, I had never even seen or heard of, and asked him whether your suggestion is practicable. I am inclined to think that an iron cage over the inscription would also be a desirable addition. You will be surprised to hear that neither of my colleagues nor a single member of our Secretariat has ever seen Mr. Rea or heard much of his work. I shall make a point of finding out what he has done and is doing now.

14. Letter from Viceroy, to Lord Ampthill, dated 26th August 1902, on the mosque and the temple in the Vellore Fort and on the mosque in the Chittoor Fort.

I was delighted with my visit to Vellore, where the Deputy Collector, Mr. Vaughan, produced a badly written monograph that he had especially composed upon the archæology of the place ; and where his henchman, Mr. Roberts, poured over with more accurate knowledge and corresponding perspiration. Here I made a discovery that I must bring to your notice.

I had a correspondence with Sir A. Havelock in 1900 as to the desirability of restoring to the Muhammadans of Vellore a mosque within the fort: and he defeated me by alleging (1) that the mosque was neither old nor beautiful; (2) that the Muhammadans were already well provided for in the town; (3) that their assembling in the fort would be a public nuisance; (4) that if the mosque were restored to them the old Hindu temple must similarly be given back to the Hindus. In the absence of local knowledge, I could not contest this reasoning, which seemed to me plausible and convincing.

My visit to the spot was soon, however, enough to show me that it was entirely fallacious. Mr. Vaughan, though he had written an ambitious monograph on the fort, was unaware of the existence of a mosque inside it. The superior knowledge of Mr. Roberts conducted me to the spot: and there I found an unpretentious, decent little whitewashed mosque occupied by the bed, bath, drum, and personal effects of a drill-sergeant of the police. A little enquiry soon elicited that the mosque was not asked for as a daily place of worship for the Muhammadans of the town at all, that they did not plead for it as an ancient monument; but that, seeing that on most days of the week a large number of Muhammadans (Mr. Roberts said 30 or 40) are apt to be assembled in the Fort, in attendance upon the Magistrate's or other Court, and that these at the stated hours of Moslem prayer have to go out and perform their devotions either in the open air, or, if they desire privacy, then in the precincts of the Hindu temple, whereas a mosque is all the while close at hand, the latter might be given back to them for the purpose. Mr. Roberts said that he regarded this as a most reasonable request; and that it would cause not the slightest inconvenience to any body. There is abundance of room for the drill-sergeant elsewhere: and the only question remaining to be solved would be whether the Moslems of Vellore would be prepared to undertake the slight expense involved in pulling down the English walls and partitions and in restoring the mosque to its original condition. Not wishing in any way to compromise your Government, I said that I thought this was an obligation which they might be asked to assume. But this is a point that I would prefer to leave to you. Finally, as regards the Hindu temple, I need hardly say that there is not the remotest analogy between this little humble modern place of prayer, and the temple, which is an

Ancient Monument, preserved by the Government as such. I send you a telegram *

* Not printed.

which I received, while at Vellore, from a Muhammadan Association who also mention a mosque in the Fort at Chittoor. I know nothing of this; but perhaps you might be willing to enquire. I shall be very glad if you can see your way to make the restitution at Vellore that I recommend. These little acts cause no inconvenience and produce widespread pleasure.

15. Letter from Lord Ampthill, dated 7th September 1902, on the mosques in the Vellore and Chittoor Forts.

I have delayed answering your letter for a few days, as I had hoped to be able to tell you that I had actually done something about the mosque in Vellore Fort. I find, however, that I am unable to hasten the official machinery as much as I should like, and so I must content myself for the present by saying that, on your showing and on my personal knowledge of the Vellore Fort, I am entirely in accord with your view that the mosque ought to be restored to the Muhammadans. Unless I am met by some fatal objection that has hitherto not transpired, I shall certainly bring about the restoration, and, if possible, pay for the necessary alterations with Government funds. I shall duly report to you what is eventually done, and similarly with regard to the mosque in Chittoor Fort, concerning which I am making enquiries. I saw the Vellore mosque myself when I was there, and remember thinking that it was not altogether right that it should be put to its present uses, but no request was made to me that it should be restored to Muhammadan worship. If I can bring about what you desire, the Muhammadans of Vellore at any rate will have no right to echo the Press opinion that no good results from Viceregal tours !

16. Letter from Lord Ampthill, dated 8th November 1902, on the mosque in the Vellore Fort.

I have just received a report from the Collector of North Arcot with regard to the mosque in Vellore Fort. He says that the Principal of the Police School objects strongly to the rendition of the mosque, not only on account of the interruption to the work of the school, but also because of the likelihood of a serious breach of the peace between the Hindus and Muhammadans of the school who are in the proportion of five to one. The Collector has made a detailed personal enquiry, and finds that the petitioners do not so much desire to use the mosque themselves as to prevent others from desecrating it by using it for secular purposes. For the purposes of worship there is another large mosque just outside the Fort within a few minutes' walk. Accordingly, it has been decided to restore the mosque to its former structural condition and keep it vacant, like the adjacent Hindu temple, as a historical monument. The Muhammadans agree to this, and all parties concerned are satisfied. I hope, therefore, that you will be contented with this solution of the difficulty.

17. Letter (Extract) from Viceroy, to Lord Ampthill, dated 7th July 1903, on the contribution by the Madras Government to the work of Archaeological Restoration.

The other point is that of your contribution in Madras to the work of Archaeological Restoration that I am carrying on throughout India. We wrote to all the Local Governments to ask them how much money they proposed to devote to this object in the near future. The United Provinces announced Rs. 75,000 a year for five years : the Punjab Rs. 40,000 a year : Burma spent Rs. 86,000 last year : Bombay guarantees Rs. 15,000 a year : Bengal Rs. 13,500. Finally, Madras promised "at least Rs. 3,000 or £200 (!) a year when suitable proposals are put before it."

This is the more remarkable, because Mr. Marshall, in his recent visit to Madras, arranged for "repairs essential to preservation" amounting Rs. 40,000, and that these are in hands of your men! He tells me that your last year's proposals, which I think amounted to Rs. 8,500, were wofully inadequate, and that there is material in Madras for an annual expenditure of at least Rs. 30,000. I hope you will back me up in the matter. But when I remember that your Councillors had never heard of your Archaeological Surveyor until I mentioned him to you, I cannot help suspecting that there must somewhere be a *vis inertiae* which requires to be somewhat rudely disturbed.

18. Letter (Extract) from Lord Ampthill, dated 20th July 1903, on the expenditure involved in the Archaeological Restoration.

As regards the work of Archaeological Restoration, the position is as follows :— The Director General reported that about Rs. 40,000 should be spent on certain works, and enquired whether these works could be completed before the end of the year, and what assistance, if any, was required from the Government of India. I should have been glad if it had been possible to execute the whole of the works this year, but the Superintending Engineer concerned reported that he could only spend Rs. 10,000 against an estimate of Rs. 29,000 for the conservation works at Vizianagar. Thus, the total anticipated expenditure for the year will only be Rs. 21,000. Out of this sum, it will only be possible to find Rs. 10,000 from Provincial resources, and we have asked the Director General to obtain from the Government of India a grant-in-aid of the balance. In a letter dated the 27th April we explained our reasons for not being willing to fix a minimum sum for annual expenditure, but as this is a matter in which I share your enthusiasm and greatly admire all that you have done and are doing, you may be

certain that I shall do my utmost to second your endeavours. I told Mr. Marshall this, and asked him to keep me privately informed as to what he considered necessary and desirable in the way of conservation and restoration.

MANDHATA.

Note by Viceroy, dated 1st November 1902, on restoration of the temple of Sidheswar Mahadeva.

I visited this renowned and sacred island in the Nerbudda on October 31st, 1902, and was equally disappointed with its beauties and its monuments. The only building of any real character or distinction on the island is the Hindu temple entitled Sidheswar Mahadeva. But this is such an absolute ruin as to defy restoration at any but an unpardonable cost. The plinth or platform on which the ruins of the temple stand is of a very curious design, its outer edge consisting of a series of projecting and re-entering angles. The porches in front of the doorways must have been a very striking feature, but are now in a state of irreparable decay. The central shrine has been covered by some pious iconoclast with a low stunted cupola, such as might be seen in a Muhammadan mosque. This ludicrous erection is in violent contrast to its surroundings, and ought to be removed. I presume that the shrine has at one time been covered with the conical Hindu cupola or spire. It would not now be worth while to re-erect this. But it would seem preferable either to cover in the exposed shrine with a flat roof, or possibly to put upon it one of the small pointed pyramidal stone roofs, of which several examples can be seen covering small Hindu shrines in the neighbourhood of the more modern temples in the town just above the Rao's palace.

The only restoration of which the temple of Sidheswar Mahadeva seems to me profitably to admit is to clear the plinth with the Elephant frieze (a really noble feature) to its foundations, to cut away the jungle for a certain space around, so as to constitute a small enclosure, to remove all the fallen and broken stones, and to collect against the wall any of these—and there are a great number, including some shattered elephants from the frieze—that are carved or sculptured. In this way the place might be made to look more tidy. But it can never, except at a wholly disproportionate cost, be made into anything but a ruin.

The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces sent an engineer to meet me at Mandhata : and he had made a careful ground plan of this temple which can no doubt be procured from Nagpur. I told him that, in my opinion, the above was the limit to which the Local Government should proceed.

MANDU.

1. Note by Viceroy, dated 8th November 1902, on preservation of Ancient Buildings at Mandu.

The literature of Mandu is not extensive. Apart from the Muhammadan chroniclers, Ferishta, Abul Fazl (*Ain-i-Akbari*) and the Diary of Jahangir, we find little till we come to modern times. A "Bombay Subaltern" published a rather highfown "History of Mandu" in 1844. Captain Claudius Harris brought out a work in 1860 entitled "The Ruins of Mandoo," containing a number of coloured illustrations (pretty but not strictly faithful to reality) that had been taken by him in 1852.

A much fuller account of the ruins, as they now exist, appeared in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1896 from the pen of Mr. J. M. Campbell. Finally, Captain Barnes, the present Political Agent in Bhopawar, has, in the present year, communicated a scholarly paper on Dhar and Mandu to the same publication, which he has since printed in an independent shape.

The ruins at Mandu are among the most imposing that I have seen anywhere in India; and the same may be said of their site on the summit of the outermost spur of the Vindhian range, which is here severed on one side by a deep ravine from the remainder of the Malwa plateau, and, on the other, descends in an almost vertical wall, 1,500 feet deep, to the Nerbudda valley—the entire perimeter of this astonishing natural fortress being scarped either by nature or man, crowned with a battlemented wall (said originally to have been over 30 miles in circuit), and ascended only by certain roads leading up the steep sides of the mountains to strongly fortified gateways in the wall. From the point of view, both of archæology and of natural grandeur, Mandu impresses me as one of the most remarkable places in India: and I propose, at as early a date as possible, to direct the eye and the footsteps of the Director General of Archæology towards it, since it appears to me that a task here lies before the Government of India in co-operation with the Native Durbar, as worthy and as pressing in its claim as any in any part of India. Indeed an archæologist has merely to come to Mandu to find almost every sentiment gratified to which he is prone—the delight of seeing magnificent buildings, of realising that in some cases they are not beyond repair, and of knowing that nothing except the want of money stands in the way of restoration.

Mandu is now within the territories of the Dhar State, and the latter has, at different times within the past quarter of a century, expended certain sums upon the upkeep of a possession of which it is intensely proud. Captain Barnes has given a great impetus to this interest. A survey and map have been made of the entire hilltop; roads have been cut to the principal ruins through the jungle that covers the plateau: the buildings have been to some extent cleared of trees and débris and rubbish; and decay or collapse has been arrested at particularly dangerous points by the erection of masonry or iron supports. The Dhar State has, however, been heavily hit in recent years by famine, and cannot afford more than an insignificant annual allotment for Archæology. It seems to me emphatically a case, therefore, in which the Government of India should come to the rescue, should, after thorough investigation of the ruins by an expert, formulate a plan of action, and should contribute a reasonable sum towards its execution. The Durbar will gratefully accept any such assistance, and will readily defer to the advice given.

In the present Note I make no attempt to describe the various remains, but only record, for the guidance of the Director General, the points that seem to me to be most deserving of attention.

Hoshang's Tomb.—This splendid and massive structure, standing in a separate courtyard at the back of the Jumma Musjid, appeals to me as the building that ought to establish the first call upon our sympathy and outlay. Some years ago, the Dhar Durbar spent a large sum of money upon rebuilding a corner of the tomb that had fallen. The first thing now to be done is the restoration of the outer marble coating of the dome. In several places this has peeled off, and the results are only too visible within. There the moisture has percolated through the cupola, has corroded the iron clamps that hold together the marble blocks, has disintegrated the marble at the joints, and caused it to split and flake off, and, unless prevented, will ruin entire segments of the dome. I think that the outer casing ought to be entirely repaired, and that the cavities on the inner surface of the cupola ought to be filled in with cement.

I noticed a number of bats hanging from the ceilings of the four-domed turrets at the corners of the main dome, and I ordered a bunch of bramble to be hung in each turret, so as to catch and impale these pests.

The pierced marble windows of the tomb call in some places for restoration.

The border of enamelled tiles round the base of the cupola will be the better for a careful washing.

Many of the projecting carved rosettes in the framework of the arches have fallen out of their sockets and should be replaced.

The entrance doorway has been disfigured by the scratching and even chiselling of the names of visitors. The Europeans have been sinners; but the natives have been worse. These signatures are too deeply cut into the marble to render

obliteration possible. I asked, however, that a *chowkidar* should be permanently attached to the tomb, to prevent the recurrence of such outrage. I also suggested that the whole of the white marble walls should be washed with a chemical solution (if warm water and soap are not sufficient) in order to take off the pencilled and coloured names that are scribbled all over the surface. No steps, however, are to be taken until the Director General advises as to the solution to be employed.

One of the most striking features of this building—and in a relatively perfect state of repair—is the long vaulted corridor or sleeping chamber behind the colonnade of Hindu columns on one side of the quadrangle. This great apartment is of purely Mussulman construction—in contrast to the Hindu pillars outside it—and is coated with white plaster in an excellent state of preservation. I presume that it must have been used as a *dharmsala* for pilgrims visiting the tomb.

The courtyard of the tomb, which is filled with Muhammadan graves, on terraces or platforms raised above the ground level of the quadrangle, deserves some tidying and restoration.

Hoshang's or Jumma Musjid.—This glorious building I place next in its claim upon our attention. As far as I could judge, it is a purely Muhammadan structure, as distinct from a building erected by Muhammadans out of Hindu remains. As such, it is entitled to very careful preservation. But complete or even extensive restoration is impossible; for large portions of the enclosure have entirely fallen in, and are incapable of repair. Our policy should, I think, for the present at any rate, be confined to, (1) maintaining the prayer-chamber intact; (2) shoring up the southern wall of the quadrangle, which shows a decided tendency to bulge outwards, and, in some places, is already inclined at a dangerous angle; (3) examining, and, where necessary, repairing the still surviving domes.

The square platforms at either end of the prayer-chamber supported by vaulted arches and pillars are very imposing. Some of these arches are in danger of collapse, the iron clamps inside the stones having rusted and given way. The fabric of these platforms requires careful examination by an expert. There is a pierced balustrade of unusual pattern round the edge, which might be capable of restoration. From a cursory investigation I would not be certain if this balustrade was merely a low rail between one and two feet in height, or whether it was continued to the top of the arches (in which there are grooves to receive it), thus constituting a sort of grille behind which the ladies of the harem could see and take part in the service.

The blue enamelled tiles in niches and in patterns round the big dome seemed to me only to stand in need of a little warm water and soap.

An examination of the back-wall of the *mihrab*, consisting of a great slab of polished black stone (apparently that which I have before mentioned as coming from Nimkhera) soon showed that the spots and indentations with which it is liberally flecked are bullet marks. Apparently in earlier times—probably in the era of the Mutiny—the British soldiers who visited this spot must have set up

a paper or other target in the *mihrab*, and amused themselves with potting at it from the outer gateway of the mosque. One can see exactly where the bullets struck, sometimes merely indenting, at others splaying the surface. The latter is also freely scratched with names. I am afraid it is impossible altogether to remove these traces of barbarity, but perhaps if the slabs are repolished, they may be less seen.

Mosque of Dilawar Khan.—This is the oldest building in Mandu, having been erected in 1405. Ruin has proceeded too far to render restoration possible on any large scale; but there is no reason why the enclosure should not be cleared of rubbish, and be made much less unseemly than it now is. I suggested that all the loose stones should be taken away that have been piled up in the open window of the quadrangle arcade; and that the right outside corner wall, which is in danger of falling, should be built up. In the left inside corner of the prayer-chamber is a curious little private chapel, with an entrance outside from the zenana. This, in various forms, is a common feature of the Mandu mosques.

Baths.—Here are some still surviving traces of bright blue and yellow colouring on the plaster of the interior walls. They are well worthy of preservation. It looked as though the domed ceilings had originally been pierced with star-shaped holes, for purposes of light or ventilation, but that these had afterwards been filled in.

Baoli or Big Well.—Are the steps which rise from the water at the bottom of the well, and which are now half concealed under the projecting stone platform that runs round the well, intended as a support to the platform, or were they steps of an earlier date, built over and covered by a later platform?

Hindola Mahal.—The sloping exterior buttresses of this building, its perfect masonry, and the dignified solemnity of what was presumably its Durbar Hall (closely reminding one of a College Dining Hall or Monastic Refectory) constitute this one of the most remarkable of the Mandu ruins. The arches in this hall are giving a little. Note the broad grooves or slots on the inner side of the arches. For what were they intended? There is a very fine upstairs room looking down into the hall—probably the apartment from which the ladies looked down at the Royal Durbar, themselves concealed behind pierced stone screens.

Jahaz Mahal.—This building requires a more minute scrutiny than I had time to devote to it. It looked to me as though the pavilion on the terrace projecting into the lake was a Public Works Department restoration or “improvement” of the time of Jahangir, and that he probably had as much right to complain of the taste of his engineers as the Government of India sometimes have to do in the case of theirs. The curious openings or niches in the walls must have been a device of that, and not of an earlier epoch. It seemed to me that they were not originally meant to be open (*i.e.*, windows) but were intended as mural decorations or niches. The bottom-most scallop of the niche has, in most cases, been filled in with plaster, presumably to support a *chiragh*.

There are several places in the building where a later coat of plaster has been superimposed upon a background of earlier enamelled tiles. Perhaps if the plaster were removed, some of the tiling might be restored to light.

I should like to have had time to investigate the arrangement of the rippled stone water-shoot at the base of the main exterior stairway.

Mosque of Malik Mughis.—This exquisite little building, situated immediately behind the camping-ground near the big Sagar lake, is also ruined beyond repair. It only admits of being cleaned up and saved from still further destruction. It possesses several unique architectural features. Note especially the octagonal porch with its archways, and the corresponding arches under the domes in the Musjid.

Nilkanth.—This summer house, or garden-pleasaunce, situated in a declivity where the waters of a stream are caught and utilized, contains some interesting inscriptions. It is the place where Akbar lodged in A. D. 1574. A horrible Hindu Fakir has now planted himself on the platform of the pool; and the water plashes on to a disgusting *lingam*. This creature ought to be turned out. He is an incongruous and repulsive anachronism.

I may add a few lines about the principal gateways of Mandu.

Tarapur Gate on the south.—I gave orders for the clearance of rubbish in the steep ascent between the two gates, the removal of *pipul* trees which have everywhere got a foothold in the walls, and the shoring up of the main walls.

Delhi Gate.—The same remarks apply to this gate, and I issued similar instructions. The vaulting in the passage between the inner and outer arches of the main gateway is giving way. So are the inner walls of the gateway. These might perhaps be re-erected.

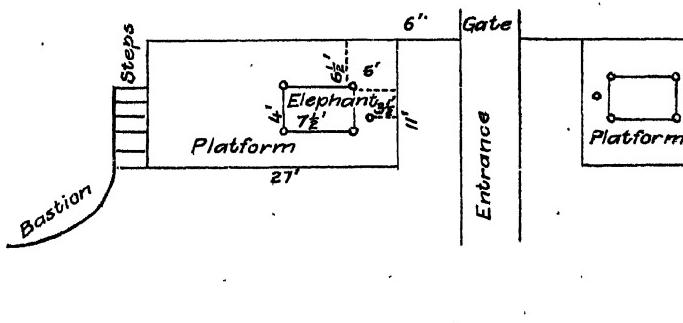
Hatipol or Elephant Gateway at the main entrance to the palace of the Khilji Kings.—Outside this gateway stood two great figures of elephants made of blocks of red sandstone cemented together and covered over with white shell plaster, one on either side of the entrance, the animals facing inwards and standing upon masonry platforms. The legs and lower parts of the bodies are still *in situ*.

The situation, pose, and dimensions of these elephants correspond so closely with those of the stone elephants that once stood outside the Delhi Gate of the Delhi Fort, and they throw such an interesting and valuable light upon the probable original position of the latter that I made a careful study and measurements with a view to assisting the Director General and myself in our proposed restorations at Delhi. I will give the figures for the elephant on the left hand side of the gate as one enters. The figures for the other are identical.

The elephant stands upon a platform that projects from the side wall of the gateway, and is raised 8—9 feet above the original ground level of the entrance. The space between the front or narrow end of the platform and the side of the archway is 6 feet. The platform projects from the wall for a width of 11 feet at its

front or narrow end, while its length is 27 feet on the longer or side face. The elephant stands on this platform with a space of 6 feet between his forelegs and the outer edge of the platform and of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet between the carved pedestal or base that once supported his trunk and the same edge of the platform. The space between the front and hind legs of the elephant (inside measurement) is $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet : between the two front legs (and the same with the hind legs) 4 feet. The distance between the inner flank of the elephant and the continuing wall of the gateway, the face of which is here shaped into an arch is $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The height of the elephant's belly from the ground (*i.e.*, the top of the platform) is $3\frac{3}{4}$ feet. The elephants are not placed absolutely parallel with the front line of the gateway. They are inclined slightly outwards, *i.e.*, they look a little away from the gate, and are not at a strict angle to the front wall of the platform. At the other end of the platform (furthest from the gate) a flight of steps leads up from the level of the ground to the top of the platform, while beyond again is a circular projecting bastion of the wall. The platforms looked to me as though they had not belonged to the original design of the gateway ; but had been built on later to support the elephants. However this may be, they show the manner in which the elephant figures were employed in the adornment of fortified gateways by the Muhammadan Indian sovereigns.

I append a diagram to make my explanation more clear, and photographs will follow.



2. Departmental notes on Revenue and Agricultural Department file, on expenditure for conservation of buildings at Mandu.

I agree with the course proposed. Mandu, however, is a place where one might easily go on for ever with restoration. I think it important that before embarking on a policy of almost geometrical progression, we should know clearly how far we are to go, and when and where we are to stop. It is not altogether a sound precedent that Government should make itself exclusively responsible

for a great work of this description in a Native State. Mandu is a very exceptional place and perhaps justifies exceptional measures. But there must be a limit even to these, and we should not be tempted into anything like fancy or superfluous restoration.

Further, if the Government of India are to assume the entire charge, the least that we can demand from the State in return will be that it will make itself responsible for the annual up-keep of the monuments, for their safe custody, for the accommodation of strangers who visit them, and for facilitating communication with Mandu.

It would be absurd to spend all this money for the benefit of one or two stray tourists happening to hear of Mandu while in Mhow or Indore. The place is worthy to become one of the show-sights of India, and a policy of enlightened advertisement will be required.

I see that Mr. Marshall was there in March 1904. I do not know if it will be necessary for him to go again. But undoubtedly he should advise at this stage as to the necessity of the works now proposed, and as to the fixing of a term for our expenditure on their execution.

CURZON,—27-2-05.

A definite plan of operations was decided upon in 1903, and except in the Internal B., July 1903, Nos. 246—247.

case of the Khalji Mausoleum, the discovery of which could not be foreseen, has not since been departed from. That plan contemplated the partial repair of some six or seven of the more important monuments, and the conservation of such of the remainder as were worth conserving. Roughly speaking, I should say that about one-third of the work is now finished, and that the total outlay upon this site ought not to exceed two lakhs.

2. The supplementary estimates amounting to Rs. 82,192, submitted with Captain Barnes' No. 5225 of 26th October 1904, were framed in accordance with the instructions given by me, when we visited the site together in the earlier part of the year, and all the measures covered by them were approved by me in correspondence with Captain Barnes before they were forwarded to the Agent to the Governor-General. As to Mr. Tucker's proposals, I would reserve judgment until I have had an opportunity of revisiting Mandu. They appear, however, to be generally sound, and in any case the extra money for which he asks will be wanted before effect can be given to the whole of our programme.

3. Under Captain Barnes and Mr. O'Gorman's immediate direction, the first season's work was accomplished as cheaply and, I venture to say, more skilfully than works of a similar character are usually done in British India. But it would no doubt be more satisfactory to all parties to have the accounts audited. There is one point, however, in this connection to which I should like to draw attention. The Finance Department has noted that "it was understood

that the Durbar would pay part of the expenditure and would control it generally." As a fact, it was arranged from the outset, so far as I know, that the Durbar's contribution should be devoted to the monuments at Dhar, and that the whole of the conservation work at Mandu should be chargeable to the Impe-

* Which was then, however, much more modest than is now contemplated. trial * grant. The monuments at Dhar and Mandu are very closely connected, and the

W. S. MEYER. preservation of the two groups constituted one general scheme, but for the sake of convenience and in order to facilitate inspection, it was thought expedient to divide up the work as stated. The Durbar has continued throughout to perform its share of the task, and has really

done more than it promised. For in addition to repairing the Lat Musjid † and Kamal

‡ Page 8 of I. B., March 1903, Nos. 154-155. Maula ‡ mosque, it has purchased a light tramway at a cost of Rs. 2,500 for the clearance of excavated earth at the Khalji Mausoleum in Mandu. It has laid out Rs. 6,000 in restoring one of the ancient tombs of Mandu, and converting it into a suitable rest-house; and it has established a regular motor car service as far as Dhar and arranged that visitors can obtain cars at Dhar to convey them to Mandu, when they wish to visit the latter place. It should be added, too, that the Engineer in charge at both Dhar and Mandu, Mr. O'Gorman, is the State Engineer, and it might therefore be inconvenient to differentiate too widely between the two places.

4. In the circumstances stated, the Finance Department might perhaps be moved to reconsider the objections which they have raised, and make the allotment of Rs. 80,000 before the close of the year. The claims upon the lakh of rupees which the Archaeological Department have at their disposal for 1905-06 already amount to nearly two lakhs, and it will therefore be impossible to make any substantial grant-in-aid to Mandu from that source.

J. H. MARSHALL,—2-3-05.

Department of Revenue and Agriculture.

We may recommend the grant of Rs. 80,000 to be made in such way as Finance Department considers best. As regards accounts, we shall no doubt be ready in this Department to accept any decision come to by Finance Department.

E. D. MACLAGAN,—4-3-05.

I agree.

His Excellency should see Mr. Marshall's note on return of file from Finance.

A. T. ARUNDEL,—7-3-05.

Finance Department.

We may promise an additional grant not exceeding Rs. 80,000 later on, on demonstration that the general grant of one lakh will be fully employed otherwise, and on the understanding that the Durbar will properly maintain the work done.

W. S. MEYER,—11-3-05.

Yes. Except that we cannot make an unconditional promise. It must depend on the state of our finances.

E. N. BAKER,—11-3-05.

Home Department.

I think that we may be satisfied with Mr. Marshall's explanation. But he is incorrect in one particular, *viz.*, when he says that it was arranged from the outset that the Durbar's contribution should be devoted to the monuments at Dhar, and that the whole of the conservation work at Mandu should be chargeable to the Im-

* Page 24 of I.B., March 1903, Nos. 432—436.perial grant. This certainly was not the case. Captain Barnes in his letter * of 24th December 1902 said that if we would advance a sum of Rs. 25,000 towards the restoration of Mandu, the State would undertake to spend an equal sum in the two years 1904—06. Major Daly called

† Nos. 65-66 in I.B., April 1904, Nos. 64—68. his attention to this on † 30th January 1904, and Captain Barnes made rather a lame reply on 17th February that all the money which had been or would be spent by the Dhar Durbar, both at Dhar and on the Mandu road, would amount to about Rs. 25,000, and that Mr. Marshall had suggested the limitation of Dhar operations to Dhar itself. This may be. But it is a very different thing from giving a promise that we would be exclusively responsible for Mandu.

We may ultimately have to accept the responsibility, but it will be one of kindness, not of obligation.

CURZON,—19-3-05.

3. Letter from Hon'ble Major H. Daly, C.S.I., C.I.E., Agent to the Governor-General in Central India, dated 7th October 1905, on the expenditure involved in the restoration of Ancient Buildings at Mandu.

I spent a long day at Mandu on Wednesday. I am rather afraid that it will be necessary either to obtain an additional grant from Government or to confine the work to a more modest scale than that recently aimed at.

The former State Engineer in Bhopawar, Mr. O'Gorman, left a few months ago for a better billet in Alwar, and his place has just been filled by a Mr. Jones, who has excellent certificates and seems to be a sensible fellow.

Mr. Jones, Major Beville (Political Agent), and Colonel Baker, R.E., my Public Works Department Secretary, were with me at Mandu. Baker is, I think, a specially shrewd, practical fellow. We decided to send Mr. Jones to camp at Mandu for a fortnight and have given him instructions as to the information which he should collect and the estimates which he should prepare.

PANDUA AND GAUR.

- 1. Letter from Sir J. Woodburn, dated 27th March 1901, on the expenditure sanctioned by the Government of Bengal for the restoration of the buildings at Pandua.*

I found your letter about Gaur on my table on my return.

If the *Englishman's* correspondent had gone on to Pandua, twelve miles further, where the ruins are still more beautiful and interesting, he would have found Rs. 6,000 had been spent on them in the current year. Estimates have been sanctioned for Rs. 15,000 more in the coming year—partly at Gaur—and I am going to visit the place again on my way to Darjeeling, in order to see what more we can do : we have been terribly hard up till now. At my first visit 18 months ago, I had Ravenshaw's photographs with me, and was pleased to see what little damage had been done in 20 years. H. C. Fanshawe of the Punjab Service was at Pandua last month, and told me he was particularly pleased with the way in which the repairs had been carried out.

I will tell you more about it after my visit.

- 2. Note by Viceroy, dated 17th February 1902, on preservation of buildings at Pandua and Gaur.*

In the course of my recent visit to Malda, I made a careful study of these interesting and remarkable ruins. Under the enlightened auspices of the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, a great deal of care has been devoted to their extrication from the jungle, and to their conservation and repair ; and large sums of money have been spent upon these objects. The expenditure seemed to me, on the whole, to have been wisely and conscientiously directed. But there were a few respects in which more definite orders, and, still more, closer supervision, were manifestly required. There is a danger that useful and necessary restoration may insensibly expand into needless and inartistic renovation ; and, owing to the insufficiency of the superior staff, things are apt to be done by subordinates which would not be permitted if there were a controlling influence at hand.

Pandua.

Golden Mosque.—I observed here an illustration of the last mentioned error. With the desire to make everything look smart and trim the left outer arch and

the *mimbar* (pulpit) had been smeared over with a dark wash. I ordered it to be brushed off.

In this, as in many other buildings, both at Pandua and Gaur, I observed that the workmen had joined the stones (in restored parts) with grey mortar; they had then flattened this out on the surface with a trowel, and carefully pointed it in the most approved modern fashion. I called the attention of the engineers to the facts (1) that (so far as I could see) no grey or slate-coloured mortar was ever employed by the builders of any of these edifices; (2) the original mortar was invariably white, but the stones were so well hewn and so carefully laid that, in the better buildings only a thin line of mortar was ever visible between them; (3) the mortar was never pointed. I suggested that in all these cases we should endeavour to imitate the workmanship of the original masons, instead of providing a contrast greatly to our own discredit.

Similarly, I gave orders not to scrape off the old plaster, where this still remained. Old plaster is not invariably beautiful, but new plaster (in a ruin) cannot escape being hideous.

Ek Lakhi Mosque.—The dome of this mosque has been cleared of trees, roots and vegetation. It is in a ruined condition. Nevertheless, I strongly deprecated its being entirely recovered with an external coating of plaster. A smooth, clean cupola on a dilapidated substructure is out of place. I urged that the chinks and crevices in the bricks of the dome should be filled in with mortar; and that only in the event of this proving insufficient to keep out the rains, should more wholesale renovation be permitted.

Adina Mosque.—Much excellent work was being, and had been, done here. I was a little shocked at the appearance of the new brick top or coping to the arches of the inner court on the western side, outside the Badshahi Takht. But I recognized that some such work was necessary to prevent the upper part of the wall and the roof from falling in. My only regret was that it had been done with such obvious attempt to produce a smart piece of brand-new brickwork instead of to assimilate it as closely as possible to the old. No doubt in time it will weather.

Tomb of Nur Kutub Alam.—When a local museum is started, as I earnestly hope that it will be, at Malda for the scattered fragments of carved stones, inscriptions, patterned bricks, and coloured tiles, that are now lying about in the heaps of débris and rubbish, both at Pandua and Gaur, it is for consideration whether the beautiful chiselled basaltic columns and lintel, now in one of the courtyards of the above tomb, should be removed thither. At present the lintel is not correctly placed above the jambs; the whole thing has not long ago tumbled down and been replaced (in imitation of Ravenshawe's photograph) and the entire relic, which is quite out of place in its present surroundings, besides being half buried in a pile of bricks and stones, would be better seen and preserved in a museum. Thither also should be transferred the carved stones now lying outside the

entrance to the Collector's house at Malda. I may also mention that in the courtyard of Jagat Seth's house near Murshidabad, I saw lying some beautiful fragments of what had once evidently been a Hindu building, made of the same stone. These had apparently, at some time or other, been transported there from Rajmahal, Malda, or the neighbourhood, and the present owner of the stones represented his perfect willingness to give any of them to Government that might be desired for a local museum. They could probably be more easily transported to Malda than to Calcutta.

Gaur.

The Painted Mosque.—I have no hesitation in saying that the lower parts of the interior of this building should not be refaced with modern tiles made in imitation of the old. The imitation would be obvious and glaring, and the result would be the reverse of beautiful. The spaces in the renovated brick-work that have been left to admit the new tiles should be filled in, and the brick-work brought to a level surface.

A good deal of interior brick-work has been undertaken or planned in this building. It should be confined to the places where it is required to prop up, or to prevent falling in.

Here, too, the dome should only be replastered if it is found to be absolutely necessary in order to avert decay.

Tantipara Mosque.—No building up seemed to me to be here required except (where necessary) with bricks.

In honour of my visit, the local workman had filled in the upper part of the central arch-way with a brand-new red brick spandrel adorned with plaster ornamentations of his own. This disastrous freak I ordered to be removed.

The grave stones should be put back *in situ*.

Dakhil Darwaza.—I found that it was in contemplation to pull down the two outer façades of the gateway, at entrance and at exit, with a view of building them up again. If this be done, the gateway will become a modern instead of an ancient building. I pointed out to Mr. Green that all that was required was that the existing brick-work, when splitting asunder or already cracked, should be clamped together or shored up, interstices in the brick-work being carefully filled in.

It did not seem to me to be necessary to re-roof the entire interior vault or passage of the gateway. This again would convert a ruin into a new building.

Golden Mosque.—In their anxiety to anticipate my wishes (which were known to be hostile to coats of new whitewash), the local workmen had here smeared a lot of grey cement or plaster over flaws in the exterior stone-work, so as to make it all present a uniform spick and span surface. Pointing of the mortar or

cement had also been carried on to an extravagant degree, and suggested a painful contrast with the exquisite symmetry and masonry of the old stone-work.

All these and some other defects I pointed out to Mr. Green and Mr. Byers : and orders were issued for their correction. It was clear, however, that they all sprung from the same cause, *viz.*, want of intelligent control. Where the superiors can only look in for an occasional and hurried visit, it is inevitable that the subordinates, who are only native workmen without knowledge or taste, should make mistakes. They can only be prevented by constant and close supervision. I suggest to the Lieutenant-Governor whether, while he is spending money so generously upon these works, it will not be worth his while to depute Mr. Byers or some other competent officer for a few months to see that the work is properly done.

Finally, when the work of repair and restoration has been completed, I would suggest that the space around each building that has been cleared of jungle should be converted into plain green sward. Each ruin would then have an appropriate setting.

3. Letter from Viceroy, to Sir J. Woodburn, dated 18th March 1902, enclosing his Note (No. 2 above).

I send you the Note, which I promised, upon the ruins of Pandua and Gaur. Perhaps you will think it worth while to communicate it to the local officers : and if you can see your way to ensuring the supervision for which I have pleaded, the results will, I am sure, repay the slight extra expense. I hope that the idea of a small local museum will also not be lost sight of.

4. Letter from Sir J. Woodburn, dated 19th March 1902, on restoration of painted Mosque at Gaur.

I am much obliged to Your Excellency for your Note on Malda. I am sorry the supervision has proved inadequate. I was assured it would not be. We will arrange at once to make the supervision an independent charge. I surrender with sorrow the prospect of restoring the patterns on the painted mosque. I was prepared for this, as I think I said to you ; but I am sorry we cannot successfully reproduce one portion—as part was done of the wall-painting at Sikandra.

5. Letter from R. G. Macdonell, Esq., Manager, Boalia Indigo Concern, dated 9th May 1905, on a stone Mihrab from Gaur now in the Elgin Museum.

I have the honour to inform you that I am to-day forwarding to you, under separate registered cover, a photograph and plans of a carved stone prayer-niche, the property of the museum of Elgin N. B., which, I believe, was many years ago recovered from the ruined city of Gaur in Bengal.

Knowing the personal interest that Lord Curzon takes in Indian Archaeology I have ventured to forward these plans and photograph for His Excellency's inspection, thinking he will be interested in knowing where this fragment of old Gaur is to be found. Though small, it is a characteristic specimen of the architecture of the place, and is, as the photograph will show, in nearly perfect condition.

All that I know personally about its history is that, in 1879, when leaving for India, my destination being Murshidabad, I was told by the late Dr. William Gordon (a retired Surgeon-Major of the late East India Company's Service) who had been stationed in that district, that I should very probably have an opportunity of visiting the ruins of Gaur in the neighbouring district of Malda, adding that the small building standing outside the Elgin Museum had been removed from there and presented to the museum of his native place, by a Mr. Grant of the Bengal Civil Service, I think, about the year 1842.

When in Elgin two years ago I visited the museum with the object of verifying my recollection of the name of the donor, and other particulars, and though I carefully searched the museum records which go back to 1842, I could find no trace of what I was looking for, nor did it appear that there was anyone now left in Elgin who could give me any information on the subject.

I have lately had a photograph taken which gives a good idea both of the general design and of the details of the carving, and I also had a plan, section, and elevation drawn to scale by an Elgin architect. These I have pleasure in forwarding, hoping they may be of assistance in identifying the building from which the Elgin fragment was taken, and, if thought desirable, of reproducing the latter in its original site or elsewhere.

6. Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 15th May 1905, on a stone Mihrab from Gaur now in the Elgin Museum.

I enclose a letter from Mr. R. G. Macdonell, Manager, Boalia Indigo Concern in the Murshidabad District, and I also forward the photograph and plans of the

carved stone niche to which he refers. The Viceroy thinks you may perhaps be able from your photographs to identify the building from which the niche is derived. I suppose it will be no good taking steps to recover it.

Enclosure of No. 6: See No. 5 above.

7. *Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 20th May 1905, on a stone Mihrab from Gaur now in the Elgin Museum.*

I am greatly obliged for the drawings and information regarding the carved stone *mihrab* from Gaur. I feel fairly certain that it came either from the Baradwari Musjid or the Sona Musjid (Firozpur) at Gaur, but cannot identify it from any photographs which I possess. I will, however, send the drawings to the Executive Engineer at Gaur, who will be able to compare them on the spot, and I will then let you know the result.

8. *Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 24th June 1905, on a stone Mihrab from Gaur now in the Elgin Museum.*

With reference to my letter of 20th May, regarding the stone *mihrab* from Gaur now in the Elgin Museum, I have ascertained that it was taken from the small Sona Musjid at Firozpur, where it used to occupy the centre of the west wall. The musjid in question is in a generally good state of preservation and is just now undergoing very thorough repairs, but I doubt if it would be worth while taking steps to get back the *mihrab* from Elgin. Even if the authorities there were agreeable to give it up, its removal and restoration could only be accomplished at considerable expense and with no little risk to the carvings.

9. *Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to R. G. Macdonell, Esq., dated 31st July 1905, on a stone Mihrab from Gaur now in the Elgin Museum.*

Upon receipt of your letter of 9th May, for which he was extremely obliged, His Excellency the Viceroy at once made enquiries about the carved stone *mihrab*

from Gaur now in the museum at Elgin N. B. These enquiries have shown that the *mihrab* was taken from the small Sona Musjid at Firozpur, which is just now being thoroughly repaired. Of course it would be an advantage if the *mihrab* were restored to its original site. But the Government of India are undertaking so many much more important works, with the limited funds at their disposal for archæological restoration, that they would not feel justified in spending the money required to bring back this relic at the risk of breakage on the way, even supposing the authorities of the Elgin Museum were willing to restore it. Unless, therefore, either those authorities or some private benefactor were willing to undertake the restitution, His Excellency fears that the prayer-niche must remain where it is, sad though it be to contemplate of a relic separated so far from its original site.

RHOTASGARH.

Note by Viceroy, dated 13th January 1903, on restoration of Ancient Monuments at Rhotasgarh.

(*Vide* Martin's "Eastern India," Vol. I.)

I visited this interesting and imposing hill-fort on January 12th and 13th, 1903, spending two nights in Camp on the summit. The situation, surroundings, and physical features of the fort present a strong resemblance to those of Mandu. An isolated ridge with precipitous cliff sides, naturally scarped at the summit, rising to a height of 1,100 feet above the valley and plain of the Sone, and disconnected at all but one point with the surrounding hills, suggested to Sher Shah, and to Man Singh after him, as Mandu had done to Sultan Hoshang 200 years earlier, the construction of a mountain-fortress well-nigh impregnable against attack, where the family and treasures of the ruler could be stored, while he himself was absent on distant undertakings or campaigns. Rhotasgarh had of course already, and from a much earlier date, been occupied by Hindu rulers, whose temples are still visible on the summit. But the majority of the buildings are of the Mussulman style, even when erected by Hindus; and it is as a type of the Muhammadan hill-fortress, at a time when the Hindu-Saracenic style was obviously beginning to decline, that the place merits our attention.

I may say at once that, except for the grandeur of the situation, Rhotasgarh cannot be compared for one moment with Mandu. The ascents from the plain, where traceable, are merely narrow tracks or roads, as contrasted with the huge masonry ramp of Mandu; the gateways are low and narrow (a man on a big elephant could not have passed through them); the walls and battlements have to a large extent disappeared; the space on the summit, though possibly not much less in area than the top of Mandu, is much barer and more stony; there is less vegetation and fewer tanks; the buildings are inferior in size, importance, and beauty, and the principal of them, the Palace, were it not the sole fabric of the kind that exists as far east as Bengal, would excite little attention. The value and beauty of the remains are not indeed to be mentioned in the same breath with the ruins of Gaur and Pandua, and, in my view, their interest consists almost exclusively in the fact that they present a very complete and instructive type of the domestic architecture of the ruling class in India as it existed at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In any other province, money could probably have

been devoted with greater profit to the restoration of other and much more valuable remains. But Sir John Woodburn was so naturally and reasonably proud of his one monument of this class that he authorized at Rhotasgarh an expenditure which, before it is complete, will have amounted to about £4,000. I am far from saying that this has been thrown away ; for the money has been, and is being, conscientiously and artistically spent. But, as I told the local engineers, I did not think that, the present programme once exhausted, any further expenditure was required except for upkeep, while I could not help thinking regretfully what a similar outlay might effect in other places, which are to Rhotasgarh as Lincoln Cathedral is to the Chapel Royal at St. James.

Hindu Temples.—There are two or three of these on the Rhotasgarh summit. The most striking is the temple of Rchitaswa (the legendary Hindu Prince from whom the fortress takes its name) which stands high on a conical hump of rock at the extreme edge of the cliff overlooking the valley of the Sone. The peculiar shape of the knoll upon which it stands has called for the erection of a bold stone stairway up the face of the hill to the platform on which the temple stands. This stairway and the temple itself have been well restored, in so far as the old stones which were lying around admitted of being replaced, or as new masonry was required to fill gaps. No attempt has been made, or should, in my opinion, be made, to restore the pyramidal roof of the shrine or the pronaos or the porch. What these were may be gathered with little doubt from the illustration in Daniells' Oriental Scenery of another Hindu temple, south of the Palace, to which I shall presently refer, and which was clearly constructed on exactly the same plan, and is now in a much better state of preservation. Immediately behind and below the temple of Rohitaswa, and on the extreme edge of the cliff, is the crumbling back wall of a little mosque which Aurungzeb is said to have erected there in despite of the Hindu fane. It has neither beauty nor interest, and is only a tottering heap of decaying plaster and stones. I gave authority for the still surviving remains, which are a great eyesore, to be demolished and thrown over the cliff.

At the foot of the little conical hill on the side of the plateau is a little domed temple, purely Muhammadan in design, which one of the Hindu governors of Rhotasgarh erected there for worship, in the foreign style which they had adopted after the time of Sher Shah. The interior consists of a cella with a place for the idol. This building has been carefully restored during the past year, and is now as sound as when first erected. I cannot recall any other purely Saracenic building used as a Hindu shrine.

The other Hindu temple to which I referred, and which is situated a little to the south of the Palace, has no name. The excellent and faithful illustration in Daniells has enabled it to be skilfully restored, in so far as the existing remains, which were strewn all about the base, admitted of replacement. I even ordered Mr. Stawell, the Engineer, to go a little further than he had already done. For I suggested the restoration of the curious sloping external stone balustrade or

parapet, the carved stone posts of which with the mortises for the intervening slabs were lying thickly all over the ground. Here the main shrine or cella still has its pyramidal roof, but the roofs of the pronaos and porch have disappeared, and the carved lotus flowers which were in the centre of their domes are lying on the ground. It would be an unnecessary expense to re-roof these parts of the temple. But I ordered the enclosure immediately round the building to be cleared of all the heaps of débris, and such of these as are sculptured to be collected together in one place. The entire enclosure has been surrounded at some time by a boundary wall, and a stone doorway in this now stands at the base of the steps leading up to the temple. This doorway does not appear in Daniells' illustration, and I suspect that it was no part of the original design. However this may be, I did not like to order its removal. I suggested the clearance of the main platform on which the temple stands, and the replacement of the moulded coping stones, which are lying about everywhere round the edge of the plinth.

The Palace.—Except as a specimen of civil architecture of the Hindu-cum-Muhammadan style, this building, as I have said, did not excite in me much interest; nor should I have carried repairs and restoration to the point which the Local Government has done. There are only two rooms or halls in the entire structure of the slightest beauty or importance, *viz.*, the Baradari and the Durbar Hall. The Palace was built at a time when it had become fashionable to cover the sand-stone walls and pillars with a coating of plaster, this again being decorated with rather coarse patterns in yellow and red; and except the corbelled brackets, there is scarcely a piece of unplastered stone in the whole building. The exterior of the Palace is, in my opinion, equally unimpressive, there being no fine masonry work anywhere (that on the gateways even is insignificant), and the surface having been covered with a coating of plaster. The Elephant-gate, with two miniature carved stone elephants standing in niches in the wall on either side of the gateway, is not less disappointing after the great Elephant-gates of Mandu and Delhi.

I do not myself think that the Shish Mahal (now a misnomer, for there is no glass to be seen) was worth the money that has been spent upon its restoration: nor should I have carried the renewal of the sloping stone eaves throughout the Palace, so far. On the other hand, the work of restoration wherever executed, whether it has taken the form of new work, or of scraping off plaster from stone, or of removing later whitewash from earlier coloured plaster, seemed to me to have been admirably carried out.

It struck me that the inscriptions which are to be seen in a good many places require more careful enumeration and decipherment than have yet been devoted to them. Whenever a small monograph is prepared upon Rhotasgarh, they should be collected and published in it.

At a little distance from the Palace on the north are a mosque and tomb locally described as those of Habbas Khan. This of course is a mistake; for there can have been no such person. The word is Hubsh, the individual in

question having been an Abyssinian eunuch, who was in the service of one of the rulers of Rhotasgarh. The mosque has been well restored ; but I urged the removal of the two modern arches which were built a few years ago to sustain the two main arches of the prayer-chamber, that were cracking, and the substitution for them of iron supports or stays under the original arches.

When the Rs. 56,000, already sanctioned by the Bengal Government, have been spent upon Rhotasgarh, the place will, I think, have been sufficiently cared for ; though a small annual expenditure will be required to keep down the jungle, and to prevent the restored structures from again falling into decay. Thousands of pounds could easily be spent, were restoration to be undertaken on a large scale. But I have no hesitation in dissuading this, partly because few persons will ever come to see the results, still more because neither the character, style, nor appearance of the originals would in the least justify any such outlay.

SANCHI.

Note by Viceroy on Home Department file, dated 3rd May 1905, on restoration of the Topes.

I am very much distressed at this intelligence. I visited the Tope myself in November 1899, and I have fortunately kept a copy of the instructions which I gave to Major Newmarch, then the Political Officer at Bhopal. They were as follows :—

- (1) “To collect all the loose stones now lying about in the passage between the rail and the Tope and also on the platform of the latter, as well as all the stones, carved or otherwise, lying about on the ground outside ; to collect the uncarved stones in a single pile ; and to arrange the sculptured or inscribed stones (many capitals of pillars, etc.) neatly all round the enclosure.”
- (2) “To get the bushes cut away which were growing on the outer surface of the Tope.”
- (3) “To fill in with mortar the crevices in the outer surface of the Tope, where, owing to percolation or other causes, it was either bulging out or caving in.”

This was all. I never mentioned either the rail or the smaller Tope, and it

* When I say ‘we,’ I of course do not mean that the agency has been ours. is with horror that I learn that we * have actually in my régime undertaken to repair and reconstruct an Asoka rail !

I see that Director General of Archæology says—“The restoration has been done now, and cannot be altered.” Is this really the case, for, if so, it is the consecration of a desecration ?

Of course there ought to be a local museum or shed, but surely not a building of the monstrous type (true Public Works Department) projected by Mr. Cousens. Why have a dome at all and particularly such a dome ? The building ought to be modest, shrinking, and unaggressive—not a Twentieth Century Tope on a small scale.

I am sure that the Begum would pay for any custodian whom we proposed to send, and if Mr. Marshall thinks that a Buddhist will be best, and that a suitable one can be found, we might recommend him through the Political Officer.

SARNATH.

Letter from J. H. Marshall, Esq., dated 27th March 1905, on Archaeological discoveries at Sarnath.

His Excellency may, I think, be interested to hear of the discovery which we have lately made at Sarnath of a new Asoka "lat," and a number of other valuable antiquities, and I therefore enclose an extract from a Note which I have just written about the finds. The excavations were instituted by me a few months back and are still in progress under Mr. Oertel's immediate supervision. I have received instructions from the Revenue Department to meet His Excellency at Agra and shall be there by the 3rd April. I sincerely hope that His Excellency is now recovered completely from his indisposition.

Enclosure of above : Extract from the Note.

Chief among the treasures brought to light is the pillar which Asoka set up to mark the spot where Buddha first preached. It is a beautiful polished granite pillar with nine lines in the Asoka character, but, unfortunately, it is broken, and a portion of the inscription is missing, nor does the actual name of the monarch occur in the nine extant lines. He is, however, referred to as *devanam piye*, lit.—“dear to the gods”—a title commonly used for Asoka; and this, coupled with the character of the script, leaves no doubt whatever that we have here one of the famous edicts of the great sovereign, who reigned in the third century B.C., and did so much for the spread of the Buddhist faith. The pillar also contains some later records, among which is one dated in the reign of Ashvaghosa—a name not found in any of the lists of Indian rulers hitherto published. Near the broken shaft of the column has been found also the capital, which formerly crowned it. It is of the well-known Persepolitan bell-shaped type, with four magnificent lions above, supporting in their midst a stone wheel or *dharma-chakra*—the symbol of the law first promulgated at Sarnath. Both bell and lions are in a state of excellent preservation and masterpieces of carving—the finest specimens, indeed, of their kind in existence. It is interesting to turn to Hwen Thsang's account of this column, which has not been described since he visited the spot in the seventh century A. D. He says, “In front of the building (Asoka's *stupa*) is a stone pillar about seventy feet high. The stone is altogether as bright as jade. It is glistening, and sparkles like light; and all those, who pray fervently before it, see from time to time, according to their petitions, figures with good or bad signs. It was here that Buddha, having arrived at enlightenment, began to turn the wheel of the law.”

In Hwen Thsang's day, the inscription on the column seems to have been hidden beneath a concrete floor, which was high above the original ground level. Otherwise Hwen Thsang would almost certainly have mentioned it. This floor has been cut through during the present excavations, and beneath it has been found a carved stone railing of the familiar Buddhist type, which surrounded the original base of the column, but was covered up in the course of centuries by accumulated débris. In digging down to the original ground level, several stone floors had to be cut through ; which showed clearly that the ground had gradually risen, as building after building rose on the ruins of the last.

Other antiquities deserving particular mention are a colossal Buddha image, probably the earliest specimen hitherto found, and the shaft of an umbrella which must have belonged to it. What makes these objects of peculiar interest is the circumstance that both bear well preserved inscriptions, from which it appears that they were erected in the third year of the great Indo-Scythian King Kanishka, who reigned about 100 A. D., and that the donors were two satraps with quite foreign names, Kharipallana and Vanashpara. Close to the image and umbrella shaft was unearthed a magnificent stone umbrella, elaborately carved on the underside with concentric rings of scroll work and sacred symbols. This is almost certainly the large specimen on record, though, unfortunately, it is not intact.

Among the other sculptures are some fine statues of Buddha of various sizes, including a seated one in first-rate preservation, representing the Saint in the characteristic attitude of Sarnath, i.e., employed in preaching his first sermon to the five ascetics. Many of the images bear dedicatory lines mostly in the earlier and later Gupta characters.

Besides the above antiquities, numbers of large and small stupas and image shrines on the western side of the ruins have been laid bare and more are coming to light each day. There still remains a considerable area of the ground to be excavated, and there is every hope that it will yield a further harvest of inscriptions and other antiquities as interesting as those already recovered.

SIND.

Letter from Viceroy, to Lord Northcote, dated 3rd April 1903, on preservation of Archaeological remains.

Some time back I saw somewhere a terrible wail about the alleged neglected state of the Archaeological remains in Sind. I could hardly believe this to be the case, knowing that you had visited several of them, and that Cousens has written about and delineated them with great minuteness. But the charges were specific. Can you re-assure me at all on the subject ? The tile-work is so beautiful that, though not always old, it deserves to be carefully preserved.

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